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THE

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF THE

Rev. John Witherspoon,

D. D. L. L. D.

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW-JERSEY.

Philadelphia:

Printed and Published by WILLIAM W. WOODWARD,
No. 52, Corner of Second and Chesnut Streets.

1803.

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BX8915
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1802
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PREFACE.

IN presenting this last Volume of the works of DR. WITHERSPOON *to the public, the editor thinks it incumbent on him, to make known what pieces have heretofore been printed, and what are now published for the first time. This is certainly a matter of justice to the Doctor's memory, because he ought not to be charged either with the inaccuracy of compositions which he did not design for the press, or with finally determining to publish what he might have written with that intention, but afterwards resolved to suppress.*

It will be observed then, that of the pieces in this volume, the following were published during the life of DR. WITHERSPOON, *viz.* The Druid ; The Addrefs in behalf of the College of New-Jerfey ; The Supplication of J. R———.

And it is supposed also, that the Letter fent to Scotland for the Scots Magazine, *the piece signed* Aristides, *and the essays entitled* Reflections on Public Affairs—On the Controverfy about Independence—On conducting the American Controverfy—Thoughts on American Liberty—*and* On the Federal City, *may have appeared before, but this is not certainly known—The copies of them were found among the Doctor's papers, and in his own hand writing. All the rest, it is pretty well ascertained, have not till now been in print.*

For the former of these, the Doctor's character is responsible, and needs no defence. For the latter, the editor is entitled to whatever blame these publications may be thought to deserve—They would probably have perished in obscurity, if his exertions had not been used in bringing them to light. He has to regret that a number of the speeches, and some of the essays and letters, are unfinished. In his opinion however, the parts which are given are so valuable, that they ought not to be lost because the whole could not be obtained. Sometimes they cast light on the transactions of Congress, or on the history of the revolutionary war of our country: Sometimes they serve to exhibit the peculiar character and turn of the author, or to make known some circumstances of his life, which his friends may wish to know;

12-5-44 Shaw. Lang.

and sometimes they contain a few ponderous or splendid thoughts, which, like fragments of golden ore, are precious though they are found unconnected with the mine. The editor hopes that not much will be found, that even suspicion itself can imagine was introduced merely for the purpose of swelling the volume—The Doctor's manner is so striking in all, that no one acquainted with his writings, will doubt that the whole has proceeded from his pen.

A more suitable arrangement of the pieces would have been made, if they had all been obtained at once; but while some were in the press, others were to be sought for at many miles distance. This however, is a matter of small moment, which in a second edition will easily be corrected.

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INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

ON

DIVINITY.

IT is a very agreeable thing to see a number of young persons determined to apply themselves to the study of divinity. We must charitably hope that they are actuated by the noblest principles; that they are resolved to devote their life and talents to the service of Christ in the gospel. He is a good master; his service is liberty. They have not any flattering prospect of an illustrious or opulent state; but they may have in that office, the greatest inward consolation, and very commonly more serenity and peace, and as much of the real and desirable enjoyment of this life, as any class of men whatever.

It is altogether agreeable to the design of this institution, to have young men of piety and ability fitted for the public service of the churches. This was the very point in view with the worthy founders of this seminary, some of whom are yet alive; and as there was never perhaps, any seminary, the support of which was more the effect of faith and dependance upon God, so it is to be hoped, that he will honour many of the youth brought up in it, with employment in his vineyard, and success in his service.

If I may be allowed to say any thing personal, I incline to add, that it is peculiarly agreeable to me. Nothing would give me a higher pleasure, than being instrumental in furnishing the minds, and improving the talents of those who may hereafter be the ministers of the everlasting gospel. The hope of it, is indeed the chief comfort in my present station. Notwithstanding the many encouraging circumstances that have happened since my arrival here, and the evident smiles of Providence upon the college, yet I confess I have often regretted the want of a pastoral charge. After having been for twenty three years constantly employed in preaching the gospel to a numerous, obedient, and affectionate people, to be employed in a way of life so considerably different, must have created some uneasiness. Just figure to yourselves, one that had been so long accustomed to preach to a crouded audience of from twelve to fifteen hundred souls every day, and all subject to my private oversight and discipline; now to have such a thin and negligent assembly, and mostly composed of those who think themselves under no obligation to attend, but when they please. In such a situation the sphere of usefulness seems to be greatly narrowed; but if I am made instrumental in sending out faithful labourers into the harvest, it will be an ample recompence; for as one of great zeal and discernment expressed himself to me in Britain: "You will be greatly mortified to see the difference between a small country society in America, and a large city congregation in Scotland; but if you be instrumental in sending out ministers of the New Testament, it will be a still more important station, for every gownsman is a legion."

In this preliminary discourse, what I chiefly mean, is to repeat, and endeavour to bring you to enter into the great and leading view which you ought to have in your studies, and which I desire to have still before my eyes in teaching. This may be expressed in one sentence—to unite together piety and literature—to shew their relation to, and their influence one upon another—and to guard against any thing that may tend to separate them, and set them in opposition one to another. This is of more con-

ſequence, and indeed, of more difficulty, than perhaps you will, as yet, be able to apprehend;—experience however, has taught me to view it in a moſt important light. Some perſons truly, and perhaps eminently pious, from an inward conviction that religion is better than all the learning in the world; and perhaps obſerving, that ill-principled perſons, the more learning they have, are the more dangerous to the truth; have come to deſpiſe learning itſelf, as if the natural talent was to blame for the moral depravity. Of thoſe who profeſs religion, ſome alſo, from a forward zeal, are impatient to begin the miniſtry, before they are fitted for the charge: ſuch perſons are often quite inſenſible to the hurt they do to the intereſt of religion, and how much they injure the truths of God, by their manner of handling them. On the other hand, there are ſome, who promiſed very well in early life, but applying with vigor and ſucceſs to their ſtudies, became too much enamoured with human wiſdom, and thought themſelves ſuch great ſcholars, that they were too proud to be Chriſtians. Intellectual pride is perhaps as dangerous a diſtemper as any we are liable to. I have often thought, that great natural abilities, and great acquired knowledge, operate as a temptation, in a way ſimilar to great wealth or external property—they are apt to intoxicate the mind—to produce ſelf-ſufficiency and contempt of others, and to take away from that humility, which is the greateſt beauty, or if the expreſſion be proper, the real glory of a Chriſtian. I would therefore begin, by earneſtly beſeeching you, to keep clear views of the importance, both of piety, and literature, and never ſuffer them to be divided. Piety, without literature, is but little profitable; and learning, without piety, is pernicious to others, and ruinous to the poſſeſſor. Religion is the grand concern to us all, as we are men;—whatever be our calling and profeſſion, the ſalvation of our ſouls is the one thing needful. It is however, further and eſſentially neceſſary for a miniſter; I do not mean that it is neceſſary to the being of a miniſter in the viſible church, or to the efficacy of the ordinances of the goſpel to thoſe who receive them. This is, properly ſpeaking, a popiſh tenet, againſt which, there is a queſtion in the ſhorter catechiſm, expreſsly le-

velled. "How do the ſacraments become effectual to ſalvation? The ſacraments (and it muſt be equally true of every other ordinance) become effectual to ſalvation, &c." Some weak enthuſiaſts have gone into this miſtake, and have ſaid it is as impoſſible for an unconverted miniſter to convert a ſoul, as for a dead man to beget a living child. A ſimilitude is no argument at all, properly ſpeaking, but only an illuſtration, if the thing itſelf be juſt. In this caſe it is wholly miſapplied, for it is neither the converted, nor the unconverted miniſter that converts the ſoul, but the power of omnipotent grace, by any means that the God of grace ſees proper to employ. But on the other hand, this takes nothing away from the neceſſity of religion in a miniſter, when properly underſtood. It is certainly neceſſary, in the moſt abſolute ſenſe, to the faithful diſcharge of a miniſter's truſt; and for the ſame reaſon, it is of the greateſt importance to his ſucceſs. True religion ſeems to give a man that knowledge, which is proper for a miniſter, to direct, and turn into its proper channel, the knowledge he may otherwiſe acquire. It ſeems neceſſary to make a miniſter active and diligent, upright and impartial, happy and ſucceſsful.

On this ſubject, I muſt give you the following particular advices:

I. Do not content yourſelves barely with ſound principles, much leſs turn religion into controverſy, but ſeek for inward, vital comfort, to know in whom you have believed, and endeavour after the greateſt ſtrictneſs and tenderneſs of practice. When I deſire you to look for inward, vital comfort, I do not mean that you ſhould wholly ſuſpend your preparations for the miniſtry, or immediately lay aſide thoughts of it, becauſe you have not all that clearneſs and ſatisfaction concerning your own ſtate, that you ſhould both deſire, and endeavour to attain. There is hardly any principle ſo good, or any ſo clear, but it is within the reach of temptations, and capable of being perverted. Some being deeply concerned, that it is a dreadful thing to preach an unknown Saviour, and not ſeeing reaſon to be wholly ſatisfied with themſelves, have been thrown into doubts, and embarraſſed with ſcruples, and have given up

wholly that ſacred office, to which they ſeemed both inclined, and called; this ſeems to be taking a very unhappy, and a very blameable courſe. If ſuch fears had excited them to give all diligence to make their calling and election ſure, they would have been properly improved. But laying aſide the thoughts of the miniſtry only on this account, ſeems to carry in it a ſuppoſition, that they either do not intend, or do not hope ever to be better. It is certainly to the public, a much greater calamity, that there ſhould be a bad miniſter, than a bad man of ſome other profeſſion, but to the perſon himſelf, if he die in an unrenewed ſtate, it will bring but little comfort. I would have you upon this ſubject to obſerve, that real Chriſtians have very different degrees of comfort, and that if we examine the ſacred oracles with care and accuracy, we ſhall find what is termed aſſurance, is juſt the grace of hope in lively exerciſe. It is called the aſſurance of hope, Heb. vi. 2. as well as elſewhere, and as every real believer has ſome degree of hope, which makes him reſt and rely on Chriſt alone for ſalvation, as he is offered in the goſpel, ſo perhaps there are not very many, who have ſuch a degree of ſteady, and firm aſſurance, as to exclude all doubting. I know there are ſome that have taken it up as a principle, and make aſſurance even in this reflex ſenſe, the eſſence of faith; but when it comes to experience, except the phraſeology itſelf, I do not find they differ much from others.

I mentioned to you particularly, ſtrictneſs and tenderneſs of practice. This is of the utmoſt moment, as the fruit and evidence of real religion. All principles are valuable, but as they produce practice. But to explain ſtrictneſs and tenderneſs of practice a little, obſerve that the expreſſion of tenderneſs, is borrowed from that paſſage of ſcripture found 2 Kings xxii. 19. 2 Chron. iii. 4. where of Joſiah it is ſaid, "becauſe thine heart was tender," &c. it ſignifies a heart eaſily ſuſceptible of conviction, and obedient to reproof. When this is applied to the carriage of one devoted to the ſervice of the miniſtry, I think it implies, 1. the ſtricteſt watchfulneſs to diſcover ſin and duty, and a diſpoſition to obey the dictates of conſcience with reſpect to both. 2. A concern to avoid, not only what is

in itſelf directly and certainly ſinful, but whatever is but doubtful according to the apoſtolic doctrine, "he that doubteth," &c. 3. A willingneſs to abſtain from lawful things, if liable to exception, or likely to be matter of offence.

II. A ſecond advice I would give you upon this ſubject is, that you ſhould remember the importance of the exerciſes of piety, and the duties of the cloſet. As there are no forms of prayer with us, the habit of cloſet devotion is neceſſary to give a miniſter fullneſs, propriety, and fervency in prayer. This for his own ſake alſo, he ſhould attend to, for it is neceſſary to the preſervation, and improvement of the ſpiritual life. Pray without ceaſing, ſays the apoſtle, intimating that the very ſpirit and temper of a believer, ſhould be that of dependance upon God, and deriving by faith from him, every neceſſary ſupply. In order to recommend it particularly to you, I would obſerve, that it is peculiarly neceſſary to be begun in early life; perhaps there are few, if any inſtances of perſons coming to a greater degree of fervour in devotion, or attention to the duty of it in advanced years, than they had in youth. There are many particulars, in which an aged, if a real Chriſtian, will inſenſibly improve: he will improve in meekneſs and humility, in prudence and judgment, in attention to Providence, in purity of principle, in ſubmiſſion to the divine will; but fervour in devotion muſt be begun early, while the paſſions are ſtrong, and continued by the power of reaſon and habit. Perhaps you may think it of ſmall moment, yet ſome very judicious and experienced Chriſtians have given it as a rule upon this ſubject, to be ſtrictly punctual and regular in point of time, and even place.

III. Early fix, and ſtudy under the influence of thoſe principles, which ſhould animate all your future labours in a concern for the glory of God, and love for the ſouls of men. If theſe are the principles of ſtudy, they will keep you from miſtaking the way, and having taken early and deep root, they will bring forth fruit more abundantly in after life. Living by faith, is extremely proper for cultivating theſe principles. Keeping the whole ſyſtem of revealed truth in view, will ſhew its moment, and particu-

larly what is revealed concerning the eternal condition of men, cannot fail to fill us with a concern for their welfare.

IV. Be diligent to acquire every neceſſary qualification; and yet ſtudy ſelf-denial in the uſe of them: this is one of the moſt important, and at the ſame time, one of the moſt difficult attainments. It is comparatively eaſy, to avoid vain glory, if at the ſame time, we indulge in ſloth and negligence. But to meditate upon theſe things, to give ourſelves wholly to them for the glory of God, and the good of ſouls, without having it in view to ſerve ourſelves, this is real excellence, and here lies the greateſt difficulty. Form yourſelves to a true taſte and real knowledge; let your capacity want no improvement, that it may be more uſeful, but beware of ſtudying only to ſhine.

V. Laſtly, guard againſt the temptation, that is moſt incident to your ſtate and ſituation, particularly, making the exerciſes of piety, and the ordinances of the goſpel, matter of ſcience and criticiſm, rather than the means of edification. When ſtudents begin to learn how things ought to be done, they are apt at all times to be paſſing their judgment of the manner, inſtead of improving the matter of public inſtruction; not that it is poſſible to be wholly inattentive to this, but let it not carry you ſo much away, as to hinder your teaching others as humble Chriſtians, as well as diſcourſing to them as able miniſters.

LECTURE II.

LET us now conſider learning as an important qualification of a miniſter. On this ſubject, after ſaying a few things on its moment, I ſhall endeavour to point out to you, what branches of ſtudy it will be your intereſt to apply yourſelves to, with greateſt diligence. As to

the importance of learning, there being no reaſon for us in this age, to expect immediate, or ſupernatural revelation, the acquiring a proper meaſure of knowledge by ſtudy and application, is abſolutely neceſſary. No parts or capacity are ſufficient without this; nay, ſuch is the wiſe order of Providence, that to improve a talent, is to poſſeſs and ſecure it—to neglect it, is to loſe it. There is ſcarce any thing that a man could once do ever ſo well, but if he lay aſide the practice, he will loſe the faculty. It is lamentable to think what a poor and contemptible figure ſome perſons make in advanced life, who had good talents from nature, but ſuffered them to ruſt in ſloth, or to be blunted by ſenſuality and ſelf-indulgence. Learning is neceſſary to keep the ſacred truths we are obliged to handle, from contempt. Great weakneſs and inſufficiency expoſe the miniſtry to contempt, even amongſt the meaneſt of the people; but it is eſpecially a ſtumbling block to thoſe who are themſelves perſons of literature and taſte. It is extremely difficult for them to receive and reliſh things delivered in a mean, ſlovenly manner. Suppoſe, for example, one who is not ſo much as ſenſible of the groſſeſt improprieties of ſtile, ſpeaking in the hearing of perſons of rank, or of real knowledge: and as even a good man is not always wholly free from vanity and affectation—ſuppoſe too that the ſpeaker ſhould ſwell his diſcourſe with high and pompous phraſes, or hard, and out of the way ſcientific terms—only think how great would be the temptation to ſuch perſons as I have mentioned, not to neglect what is good, from its being mixed with what they ſo juſtly deſpiſe. Learning is alſo neceſſary to repel the attacks of adverſaries. The goſpel has never been without enemies from without, and from within; and as it is uſually by means of human learning that they make the attack, it is neceſſary that ſome ſhould be ready to meet them, and able to unravel the ſubtilty which they lie in wait to receive. I have often thought that there was ſomething very admirable in the choice our Saviour made of his firſt miniſters, to aſſiſt us in adjuſting our views upon this ſubject. For the more immediate mani-

feſtation of divine power, when the wiſe and great in the world were united againſt his truths, he choſe twelve illiterate fiſherman, which ſhould teach us not to over-rate the wiſdom of the wiſe, and leſt in after ages we ſhould be tempted to under-rate it, he choſe one apoſtle, able and learned, and to him he gave the moſt ſignal ſucceſs; ſo that he laboured more abundantly than them all, and was honoured to be the penman of a very conſiderable part of the code of the New Teſtament.

But let me now proceed to conſider what branches of ſtudy it will be your intereſt to apply to with greateſt diligence; and if I am able to do this with propriety, I am perſuaded you will find it of the moſt ſignal ſervice. A traveller loſes time upon his journey by going out of the road, as well as by ſtanding ſtill, and if his direction is very wrong, the time is more than loſt, for his diſtance is increaſed, and his ſtrength is exhauſted. On this ſubject be pleaſed to attend to the following remarks. There is no branch of literature without its uſe. If it were poſſible for a miniſter to be acquainted with every branch of ſcience, he would be more fit for public uſefulneſs. The underſtanding which God hath given us, and every object that he hath preſented to it, may be improved to his glory. A truly good man does grow both in holineſs and uſefulneſs, by every new diſcovery that is made to him; therefore learning in general is to be eſteemed, acquired, and improved; and perhaps I may alſo ſay therefore, it were good if a miniſter were a perſon of extenſive knowledge. But our time and capacity are both limited, and we cannot do all that we could wiſh. On the ſubject of literature in general, obſerve, that reading a few books well choſen, and digeſting them thoroughly, together with the frequent exerciſe of reflection, will make a knowing and intelligent man: but to make what the world calls a learned man, or a great ſcholar, requires a very general knowledge of authors books, and opinions of all kinds. A perſon of great diſcernment may perhaps obſerve a ſtill nicer diſtinction in the uſe of epithets in our own language. The phraſe "a man of learning" according to its preſent acceptation in Europe, almoſt always ſuppoſes, and in-

cludes taſte in the belles lettres. A great ſcholar, or a man of erudition, always carries in it the idea of much reading: the firſt always ſuppoſes genius, the other may conſiſt with very moderate talents. A pretty large circle of the ſciences is taught in our ſchools and colleges; and though many think it too extenſive, yet ſomething of the principles of the whole may be underſtood by a perſon of capacity and diligence: his knowledge may be true and juſt, though not minute. A man may not be a mathematician or an aſtronomer, and yet underſtand ſomething of the true ſyſtem of the univerſe. He may underſtand many ſciences ſo far as to comprehend the reaſoning of thoſe more deeply ſkilled, who ſpeak and write of them, and ſo as to ſpeak with politeneſs and conſiſtency, and within his own line in every thing he ſays of them. But to excel in any particular branch of ſcience, and to know any thing upon that branch that may be known, is the work of a life-time. Grammar, mathematics, aſtronomy, oratory, hiſtory, law, phyſic, poetry, painting, ſtatuary, architecture, muſic; nay, the ſubordinate diviſions of ſome of theſe ſciences, ſuch as, anatomy, botany, chymiſtry, are all of them ſufficient to employ a life, to carry them to perfection. It is therefore plainly in itſelf improbable, that almoſt any man, can attain a high degree of perfection in all, or indeed in many of theſe branches of ſtudy. There is ever ſomething more to be obſerved; the perſon who addicts himſelf to any one of thoſe ſtudies, ſo as to be an adept, or really a complete maſter in it, cannot be a man of extenſive knowledge; and it is but ſeldom that he can be a man of a liberal, or noble turn of mind, becauſe his time is conſumed by the particularities, and his mind narrowed by attending to one particular art. He is likewiſe apt to eſteem his favourite ſtudy ſo much, as to confine all excellence, and even all capacity to it. A profound botaniſt ſmitten with the love of flowers and herbs, if he meets with a man that does not know one from another, and does not value a ranunculus or anemone more than a pile of common ſpear-graſs, he has a ſovereign contempt of ſuch an underſtanding. Dean Swift takes notice of a curious expreſſion

this way, of a dancing-master, at whose school the famous Harley, Earl of Oxford, had been in his youth; when he was made secretary of state, he said, he wondered what the Queen could see in that man, for he was one of the greatest dunces he ever taught.

Hence you may observe, that all who are devoted to the particular study of one small branch, are generally considered as pedants; and indeed commonly are such as are understood by that expression. Their thoughts have taken such a course, and their ideas themselves taken such a tincture from their favourite study, that they see every thing through that medium, and are apt to introduce the expressions belonging to it, upon every subject and occasion. Mr. Addison in one of his Spectators, observes, that every man whose knowledge is confined to one particular subject, is a pedant, as a mere soldier, a mere actor, a mere merchant, &c. but that the learned pedant though generally most laughed at, is of all others the most tolerable, because he has generally something to communicate that is worth hearing. But I observe that the most reasonable pedants, and the least to be blamed, are those, whose whole hearts are set upon what is their business for life. Therefore though a schoolmaster can scarcely speak without citing Virgil or Horace, he is to be indulged; and though he may not make the most distinguished figure in public or polite life, yet he is useful in his generation, and fit for the discharge of his trust. Therefore, a minister that is a mere theologian, well acquainted with the scriptures, though with few other books, or books upon other subjects, and is master of the controversies that belong to divinity, properly so called, is certainly much more to be pardoned, than one ever so much skilled in any other science without this. But what shall we say of those, who mistake their duty so very much, as to be chiefly distinguished for that which they have least to do with. I have known a physician, who was a much greater connoisseur in music than in medicine; and a divine, much more famous for accounts and calculation, than preaching. It is therefore in my opinion, not any honour to a minister, to be very famous in any branch that is wholly unconnected with theology;

not that knowledge of any thing, properly ſpeaking, is either a diſadvantage or ground of reproach; but for a man to ſhow a deep knowledge of ſome particular ſubject, plainly diſcovers that he hath beſtowed more time and pains upon it than he had to ſpare from his neceſſary duty. It is alſo uſual in all ſuch caſes, that the favourite purſuit infuſes ſuch a quantity of phraſes and alluſions into his language, as render it ſtiff and improper, and ſometimes ridiculous.

Agreeably to theſe remarks, I obſerve, that the aſſiſtant ſtudies to theology, are chiefly the following: 1. Languages. 2. Moral Philoſophy. 3. Hiſtory, ſacred and profane. 4. Eloquence, including the belles lettres ſtudy in general.

I. Languages. This indeed, uſed to be reckoned eſſentially neceſſary to learning in general, immediately after the revival of learning in Europe: The Greek and Latin languages were ſtudied univerſally, and with great care. All authors who expected their works ſhould live any time, wrote in Latin; but ſince the cultivation of the languages in Europe, this has been gradually diſcontinued, and except in ſome few ſcientific writings, have now wholly ceaſed. However, as the remains of the ancients are ſtill the ſtandard of taſte, all literary perſons ſhould make themſelves acquainted with the languages. It is to be lamented that many ſpend a great part of the time of their education in learning Latin and Greek, and yet few ever attain them to that perfection, which alone can make the learning of a language of great moment, ſo that they can read the authors with pleaſure, and profit for the matter which they contain. This might be eaſily attained by almoſt any ſtudent after his grammar ſchool and other education; and reading over the claſſics with ſome of the beſt critics upon them, would be a very improving ſtudy. Books of hiſtory and entertainment alſo, in Greek and Latin, would have a happy effect this way. The Hebrew language alſo is very proper and uſeful for a divine, being the language in which a great part of the ſcriptures were originally written, and not difficult to acquire, becauſe we have but few writings in that language

at all, and the language itſelf is not copious: to theſe I only add the ſtudy of the French language; it is both uſeful and ornamental. There is hardly any ſuch thing as a learned education in Britain, where the French language is omitted. It was the firſt poliſhed of all the modern languages of Europe, having been at leaſt fifty years before the Engliſh in this reſpect; and though there are ſome branches of writing in which there are Engliſh authors not inferior to any of the French that I am acquainted with; yet in general, there is to be found a greater purity, ſimplicity and preciſion in the French authors than in the Engliſh. But what indeed chiefly diſpoſes me to recommend the French language to divines, is that of the ſound, calviniſtic, reformation divinity: there are many more able and elegant writers in that language, than in Engliſh; there are alſo ſome admirable practical treatiſes written by the popiſh divines in French, as well as by the Janſeniſts of the Roman catholic communion: Janſeniſts and Moliniſts in the church of Rome, are juſt the ſame as Caliſts and Arminians among proteſtants.

II. Moral Philoſophy. The connection of this with divinity will be eaſily ſeen. It is a very pleaſant and improving ſtudy in itſelf, or a good handmaid to the Chriſtian: morality, and the controverſies upon that ſubject, which are all modern, ſtand in immediate connection with the deiſtical controverſies, which it is neceſſary for a divine to make himſelf maſter of. There are few of the ancient writers of much value upon that ſubject, excepting Plato among the Greeks, and Cicero among the Latins, eſpecially the latter. The remains of Socrates (to be collected from the writers of his country, but chiefly from Xenophon,) the works of Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, and Seneca, contain many moral ſentiments, but little or nothing of the principles of morals. I think the moſt beautiful moral writer of the ancients, is the author of the tablature of Cebes. As to any thing contained in the ancients relative to the truth of Theology, it will be found almoſt univerſally collected in Cudworth's intellectual ſyſtem.

III. Hiſtory, ſacred and profane. This is a ſtudy, eaſy, pleaſant and profitable, and by a peculiar happineſs of

this age, faſhionable. As a clergyman ſhould be a man of liberal knowledge, and fit for the converſation and ſociety of men of rank and letters, it is neceſſary that he be well acquainted with hiſtory; if he is not, he will be often ready to betray his ignorance before perſons who ſhould be much his inferiors in point of ſtudy: beſides you ſee a great part of the ſacred writings both of the Old Teſtament and the New, conſiſts of hiſtory; and few things are more neceſſary to the juſt and critical ſtudy of the ſcriptures than an acquaintance with hiſtory, with the original ſtate and gradual progreſs of human ſociety; it adds greatly too, to a miniſter's knowledge of the human heart; in that it may be ſaid to be the way to that knowledge of the world, which may be obtained at leaſt expence and with perfect ſafety.

IV. Laſtly, Eloquence; that is to ſay, compoſition and criticiſm, including the whole of what is commonly called the belles lettres ſtudy. Nothing is more plain than the neceſſity of this ſcience: public ſpeaking is to be the chief, or one of the chief parts of a miniſter's buſineſs for life. I ſhall not enlarge on this, having occaſion to ſpeak on it at great length in another department, which you have had, or may have an opportunity to hear. I ſhould have made more mention of books, but as I have written at the particular deſire of ſome of the laſt year's ſcholars, a liſt of the principal and moſt valuable writers in every branch of ſcience, it will be more complete for any that deſire to have copies of that liſt. This liſt may be ſeen at the end of theſe lectures.

LECTURE III.

THE ſubject in which we are now to enter, is the truth of the Chriſtian religion. I am ſenſible that every good man has a conviction of the truth of the goſpel from its power and efficacy upon his own heart, diſtinct from,

and ſuperior to all ſpeculative reaſoning. That deep, and heartfelt ſenſe of the corruption and weakneſs of our nature, and of the power of indwelling ſin, which is inſeparable from the reality of religion, and the perception of the admirable fitneſs of redemption by the croſs, to abaſe the pride of man, and to exalt the grace of God; to give conſolation to the ſinner, while it changes the heart, is highly ſatisfying to a conſiderate, if at the ſame time, a ſerious perſon; ſo that for his own ſake, he would pay but little regard to all the fooliſh cavils of men of corrupt minds: nay, there is ſomething more; the whole ſyſtem of the goſpel, as depending upon, and having conſtant reference to the croſs, is ſo contrary to the taſte of a carnal mind, and ſo far from carrying in it any of the marks of human wiſdom, that it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe it a cunningly deviſed fable, and therefore we may cordially embrace, and rely upon it, as the power of God unto ſalvation. One thing more I would ſay by way of introduction; that the cuſtom of ſome miniſters of conſtantly entertaining their hearers with a refutation of infidel objections upon every ſubject, is not much to be commended. This ſeems to proceed upon a ſuppoſition, that a great part of their audience is inclined to infidelity. There are times and places when that is proper I admit; but there are many others in which it is either quite unneceſſary, or even hurtful, as tending to bring people acquainted with what would perhaps never otherwiſe have fallen in their way. It is however certain, that ſince in modern times eſpecially, this controverſy has been greatly agitated, and indeed of late almoſt all other controverſies have been dropped on account of it, or loſt in it; a ſtudent of divinity ſhould be well informed upon it. I will therefore endeavour to ſtate it to you with as much diſtinctneſs as I am able, and as much brevity as its nature will admit. The ſubject muſt be taken up a little differently, as we ſuppoſe we have to do with different adverſaries—atheiſts and theiſts.

The controverſy with the firſt, perhaps it is unneceſſary to treat with much length, becauſe it is not difficult, and becauſe there are but few that plead the cauſe of infidelity upon this footing, yet ſome of the lateſt infidel writers,

particularly David Hume, has raiſed ſuch objections, as ſeem chiefly to point this way. The boundleſs ſcepticiſm he has endeavoured to introduce, would weaken the belief we have in the Deity, as much as in the goſpel; and indeed, as he ſeldom attacks particulars, (except in the caſe of miracles) his enmity ſeems to be againſt religion in general, and not againſt the goſpel: the ſame thing may be ſaid of Voltaire, Helvetius, and other foreigners; though Voltaire deals very much in particular cavils, and of the moſt ſilly kind.

In the deiſtical controverſy, what commonly leads the way, is the neceſſity of revelation in general. This is to be proved from the ſtate of the heathen world before the coming of Chriſt. The chief circumſtances to be taken notice of, are, 1. Their groſs ignorance. 2. Their abſurd notions of God, as of human ſhape, with many paſſions, and the worſt of vices. 3. Their impious and ſhocking rites, particularly human ſacrifices. 4. Their polytheiſm, and multiplicity of gods. 5. Their great immorality. It is to be particularly obſerved, that theſe things were not confined to the barbarous nations, but if there was any difference, it was rather more eminently the caſe with thoſe who were thought the moſt improved and civilized, the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. The firſt infidel writers in Europe, were chiefly employed in ſhewing the ſufficiency of reaſon as a guide to man in his conduct, of whom Lord Herbert, of Cherburg, was one of the moſt early, and one of the moſt eminent. Their way of arguing is very fallacious; for they avail themſelves of that very improvement of reaſon, which they owe to revelation, in order to ſhew revelation to be unneceſſary. The ſublime and noble conceptions of God, as the father of ſpirits, which after they are diſcovered, can eaſily be ſhewn to be rational, are boaſted of as the productions of unbiaſſed reaſon; but the fair way of deciding the queſtion is to apply to thoſe nations that wanted revelation, that is to ſay, the Jewiſh and Chriſtian revelation, and there we ſhall ſee what reaſon in the courſe of many ages was able to do in fact. There is likewiſe more here than is commonly attended to; for there is the greateſt probability,

that the ſmall meaſure of truth which was mixed with the heathen fables, was not the diſcovery of reaſon, but handed down by traditions. It is well known that the Egyptian theology, and their literature, whatever it was, was kept a ſecret, and was handed down from one to another by their prieſts, and it is as certain that the earlieſt Grecian philoſophers never expected that they could, nor pretended that they had diſcovered any of their opinions by reaſon, but they travelled to Egypt, and the Eaſtern countries, and brought it home as information, which they had received from the ſages of thoſe countries. This was the caſe of Thales in particular, and after him of Pythagoras. Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to ſhew that the heathen mythology contains, in many reſpects, a partial, and adulterated view of the ſcripture hiſtory: ſee on this ſubject, Abbe Banier's mythology of the ancients, with regard to the Greeks and Romans, and Abbe Pluche's hiſtory of the heavens, with regard to the Egyptians.

But with regard to the neceſſity of revelation in general, what ſeems particularly deciſive is, that by a fair examination of the matter, and the univerſal conſent of all nations, men in a ſtate of nature, are chargeable with guilt. Whatever may be ſaid either of original ſin, or inherent pollution, it cannot be denied that there is much moral evil in the world. So true is this, that the hiſtory of the world is little elſe than the hiſtory of human guilt. They that would evade this, by ſaying men are only imperfect, do not obſerve that they are guilty of ſuch crimes, as are ſtrongly condemned by their own reaſon and conſcience. Now, whether there is any forgiveneſs of ſin, and place for repentance; and if at all, upon what terms can never be determined but by an expreſs revelation? This is implied in the nature of guilt. Guilt is a liableneſs to juſt puniſhment: now, whether God will remit a puniſhment which he may inflict with juſtice, muſt reſt ultimately with himſelf, and no reaſoning can decide upon it. Try it who will, and every argument brought in favour of the remiſſion, will militate againſt the juſtice of the puniſhment. This appears from the very language of perſons diſpoſed to ſuch ſentiments, for they cannot help ſaying, and indeed

they have nothing elſe to ſay, but that it is probable, for it would be *hard* to ſuppoſe that every tranſgreſſion ſhould be puniſhed with divine vengeance: but pray let us conſider this way of ſpeaking; where is the hardſhip? Is juſtice hard? On the contrary, it is glorious and amiable, I confeſs it is difficult for us ſinful creatures to confeſs, and ſtill more difficult from the heart to believe, that every ſin deſerves God's wrath and curſe, both in this life, and that which is to come; it is however the neceſſary conſequence, not of one, but of the whole ſyſtem of ſcripture truths. There you have in every page, the higheſt encomiums upon the mercy and compaſſion of God. Theſe are all without meaning, and contrary to truth, if it would have been the leaſt impeachment of the righteouſneſs of God, to have ſuffered the penalty to take place. Pardon, if the word is underſtood, muſt be free. Benignity and goodneſs to the innocent, is a part of the character of the Deity in natural religion: but mercy to the guilty, belongs wholly to the revelation. Accordingly, it is upon this point, that all the heathen religions have turned. Expiation ſeems to have been the great purpoſe of all religion, whether true or falſe. It ſeems to have been wholly in anſwer to the queſtion which Balak king of Moab put to Balaam; "Wherewith ſhall I come before the Lord," &c. The neceſſity of revelation was acknowledged by many of the heathens in their writings. Of theſe, the ſaying of Socrates to Alcibiades was a remarkable example, that it was reaſonable to expect God would ſend one into the world to deliver men from ignorance and error, and bring them to the knowledge of himſelf.

LECTURE IV.

On the Truth of the Christian Religion.

HAVING endeavoured to eſtabliſh the truth of revelation in general, we come to the truth of the Chriſtian religion in particular. The proofs of this are ſo many, and laid down ſo differently, according as the adverſaries of the truth have ſhifted their ground, that it is impoſſible to enumerate them, and indeed not eaſy to claſs them. There is one introductory way of reaſoning, which may be called comparative, to reflect on the infinite difference between the Chriſtian, and all other pretended revelations. If the neceſſity of revelation has been properly and fully eſtabliſhed, then compariſons between the ſeveral pretences to it ſeems to be juſt, and even concluſive. Now I think it does not admit of heſitation, that with reſpect to purity, conſiſtency, ſublimity, dignity, and every excellence which a manifeſtation of the true God muſt be ſuppoſed to have, the Chriſtian religion is ſuperior to every other. The heathen ſuperſtitions have not now ſo much as an advocate. Infidels do not now plead for Jupiter, Juno, Mars, and Apollo, but for the ſufficiency of human reaſon: and indeed, an age or two after the publication of the goſpel, that whole corrupt ſyſtem which had been ſupported ſo long by ignorance and credulity, fell to the ground.

Paſſing from this detached and preliminary conſideration, the proofs of the Chriſtian religion are very commonly divided into evidence *internal* and *external*. By the firſt of theſe we are to underſtand the excellency of the doctrine, as agreeable to the dictates of reaſon and conſcience, and having a tendency to produce the happieſt effects. Under this head alſo comes the character of the founder of the Chriſtian faith, and every thing connected with this or the former particular. By the external evi-

dence, we are to underſtand the miracles wrought in atteſtation of the truth of the doctrine; the nature and ſubject of theſe miracles, the credibility of the witneſſes, and every thing neceſſary to ſupport this teſtimony. It is difficult however, to collect the evidence under thoſe heads, without often intermixing the one with the other. I have therefore thought the evidences of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, might be as well divided in a different way. Firſt, into two heads under the following titles: 1. Collateral, and 2. Direct and poſitive proof. And again to divide the collateral into two parts, and take the one of them before, and the other after the direct evidence, under the titles of *presumptive* and *consequential.*

I. Let us conſider the preſumptive evidences of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, or thoſe circumſtances that recommend it to our eſteem and love, and are of the nature of ſtrong probabilities in its favour. Theſe we may, for order ſake, divide into ſuch as relate, 1. To the doctrine taught. 2. The perſon who is the author and ſubject of it. 3. The circumſtances attending its publication, and other probabilities.

1. The doctrine taught. When this is conſidered in the way of an argument, for its actual truth, it reſts upon this principle, that every doctrine that comes from God muſt be excellent; that therefore, if the doctrine did not appear of itſelf to be excellent, it would be rejected without further examination, becauſe not worthy of God; and on the contrary, that if it appears excellent, amiable, uſeful, it is ſome preſumption that the claim of a divine original, is juſt. It is a juſt reflection on Chriſt's doctrine, never man ſpake like this man, as well as the following, no man can do the miracles that thou doſt, except God be with him. Under this great head of excellence, or a doctrine worthy of God, may be conſidered ſeparately. 1. Its Sublimity. 2. Purity. 3. Efficacy. 4. Plainneſs. 5. Conſiſtency.

1. Sublimity. The doctrines contained in ſcripture concerning God, his works, and creatures, and his relation to them, is what muſt neceſſarily have the approbation of unprejudiced reaſon, and indeed is the moſt noble that

can be conceived. His ſpiritual nature infinitely removed from inactive matter, incapable of groſſneſs, of ſenſual indulgence. The unity of God, ſo contrary to the prevailing ſentiments under heatheniſh darkneſs, yet how manifeſtly rational. Strange indeed that the whole world ſhould have been in a miſtake on this ſubject, and the Jews, a deſpiſed nation, in an obſcure corner in Paleſtine, only ſhould have diſcovered and embraced it. The immenſity of God filling heaven and earth with his preſence. His omnipotence in creating all things by his word. His holineſs, juſtice, goodneſs and truth: to theſe we may add the conſtant influence of his providence, as the Lord of nature, the witneſs, and the judge of all. Very beautifully the prophet ſays, "can any of the vanities of the Gentiles cauſe rain;" ſo the apoſtle Paul, "nevertheleſs he left not himſelf without a witneſs," &c. The moral government of God, as taught in ſcripture, is exceedingly rational and ſatisfying, repreſenting his great patience, and long-ſuffering to be followed by a time of holy and righteous retribution. The mixture of good and evil, that is plainly to be obſerved, is by this means clearly explained, and fully accounted for. On the ſublimity of the ſcripture doctrines, ſome are fond of dwelling upon the majeſty of God, and ſublimity of the ſcriptures in ſentiment and language, as well as matter. Upon this part of the ſubject, things have been ſaid, and the controverſy taken up, on different footings. We have one adverſary to religion, Lord Shaftſbury, who has been at much pains to vilify the ſcriptures on the ſubject of ſtile and compoſition, and to pretend, that if it were the work of inſpired writers, it would be evidently in its manner, ſuperior to every human production. In anſwer to this pretence, there was a book written Blackwell's Sacred Claſſics, comparing the ſcriptures with the ancient writers, and ſhewing that there is not any blemiſh in writing to be found in the ſcriptures, but may be juſtified by ſimilar expreſſions in the moſt approved claſſics, and that there is no beauty in the claſſic, authors in which they are not outdone by the ſacred penmen. This book I think is well worth reading by every ſcholar or divine. Dr. Warburton has been pleaſed to condemn

this way of juſtifying the ſcriptures, and even to affirm, that taſte is a thing ſo local and variable, that it was a thing impoſſible to have any book deſigned for all mankind, to anſwer ſuch an idea, as Lord Shaftſbury ſeems to have formed; nay, he ſeems to deny that there is any ſuch thing in nature, as a permanent ſtandard of taſte, and propriety in writing; but there is one manner for the Oriental, and another for the Weſtern writers, and that ſuch have their excellencies, and no compariſon can take place between them. I would not chooſe to join wholly with either of theſe. It is I think plain, that it was not the deſign of the ſcriptures, to be a ſtandard for eloquence, nor does it appear any way connected with the end of revealing divine truth; on the contrary, it ſeems to be the purpoſe of God, to bring us from glorying in human excellence. On the other hand, as I am perſuaded there is a permanent ſtandard of propriety and taſte, ſo I am fully convinced there are many examples of ſublimity and majeſty in the ſcriptures, ſuperior to any uninſpired writings whatſoever.

2. The next thing to be obſerved of the doctrine, is its purity; that is to ſay, having an evident tendency to promote holineſs in all who believe and embrace it. That this is the deſign and tendency of the Chriſtian doctrine, is very plain. It is its expreſs purpoſe, to ſet ſin and immorality in the moſt odious light, and not barely to recommend, but to ſhew the abſolute neceſſity of holineſs in all manner of converſation. It is pretended by ſome infidel writers, that gravity, and apparent ſanctity, is the eſſence of impoſtors, and that all impoſtors do deliver a ſyſtem of good morals. But there is not only one excellence in the Chriſtian morals, but a manifeſt ſuperiority in them, to thoſe which are derived from any other ſource, and that in three reſpects: 1. That they are free from mixture, not only many things good, but nothing of a contrary kind. 2. That there are precepts in the Chriſtian morality, and thoſe of the moſt excellent kind, very little, if any thing reſembling which, is to be found in uninſpired moraliſts. The love of God—humility of mind—the forgiveneſs of injuries—and the love of our enemies,

The love of God may be inferred conſequentially, from many of the heathen writers; but it is no where ſtated with that propriety and fullneſs as the firſt obligation on the creature, as it is in the ſacred ſcriptures. Humility of mind as repreſented in the goſpel is wholly peculiar to it. It is obſerved by ſome, that there is no word, neither in the Greek nor Latin languages to ſignify it. *Humilitas* in Latin, from whence the Engliſh is derived, has a different meaning, and ſignifies low and baſe. *Mansuetudo animi* in Latin and *Praotes* in Greek, are the neareſt to it, but are far from being that; even the forgiveneſs of injuries and the love of our enemies, are rather contrary to the heathen virtue; and modern infidels have expreſsly pretended that the Chriſtian religion by its precepts of humility and meekneſs, and paſſive ſubmiſſion to injury has baniſhed that heroiſm and magninimity which gives ſuch an air of dignity to the hiſtories of Greece and Rome. The third particular in which the Chriſtian morals exceed all others, is the excellence of the principle, from which they ought to flow. The law of God is not contracted into governing the outward conduct, but reaches to the very heart, and requires further that our obedience ſhould flow, not principally from a regard to our own happineſs, far leſs to our own honour, but from a principle of ſubjection in the creature to the Creator, and a ſingle eye to the glory of God.

III. The excellence of the ſcripture doctrine appears from its *efficacy*. By this I mean the power it hath over the mind, and its actual influence in producing that holineſs it recommends; there are ſeveral things that deſerve conſideration on the efficacy of the ſcripture doctrine. 1. It contains the greateſt, and moſt powerful motives to duty, and the fitteſt to work on our hopes and fears. Theſe I confeſs are much the ſame in general that always have been propoſed as inducements to a moral conduct yet they are opened with a fullneſs and force in the ſcripture no where elſe to be found. Eternity there makes a very awful appearance. Particularly with reſpect to the goſpel, and the New Teſtament diſcoveries; we are told that life and immortality are brought to light by it.

2. It carries the greateſt authority with it; the principles of duty are more clearly and fully enforced by the proper authority than any where elſe; the right of God from creation to the obedience and ſubmiſſion of his creatures, his additional title from continual beneficence, to which ought to be added by Chriſtians the right acquired by redemption; to all which is further to be added the divine nature itſelf as our pattern. 3. The effectual aſſiſtance provided in the ſcripture doctrine to deliver us from the bondage of corruption, and bring us to the glorious liberty of the children of God; this is of more conſequence than is commonly apprehended, deſpair of ſucceſs breaks the powers of the mind, and takes away at once the will to attempt, and the power to perform, whereas effectual aid has juſt the oppoſite effect. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit taking it ſingly in this view, is moſt happily calculated to animate men to diligence, and inſpire them with courage and reſolution, and ſeems generally to ſhew the efficacy of the Chriſtian doctrine.

IV. Another excellence of the Chriſtian doctrine is plainneſs; it is level to all capacities, well fitted for all ranks, rich and poor, wiſe and unwiſe. It is given as one of the marks of the Meſſiah's coming, and is one of the glories of the goſpel, that it is preached to the poor. Religion was plainly deſigned for all mankind, their intereſt in it is the ſame; therefore it muſt be plain and ſimple; whatever is otherwiſe, whatever ſyſtem is built upon abſtract reaſoning, and is evidently above the comprehenſion of the vulgar is for that very reaſon unfit for their ſervice, and carries a mark of falſehood upon itſelf. There is even ſomething more in the ſimplicity of the goſpel, than barely the plainneſs of its truths and duties. It is from firſt to laſt founded upon facts ſtill plainer, a great part of the inſpired writings is hiſtory; the Old Teſtament is founded upon the fall of man, and is filled up with the hiſtory of Providence, or God's conduct to his choſen people, and the New Teſtament contains the birth, life, and death, the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt. So material a part of the doctrine do theſe things compriſe, that the character of the apoſtles is juſt that of being witneſſes

of Chriſt's reſurrection. 5. The laſt excellence to be taken notice of in the Chriſtian doctrine, is its conſiſtency. This conſiſtency may be viewed to advantage in two different lights; firſt, its conſiſtency with itſelf. It is remarkable that the Chriſtian revelation is not a ſingle ſyſtem that was, or might be ſuppoſed to be, the occaſional production of one man. It extends from the creation, downwards, to the preſent moment, or rather, taking in the prophecies, to the laſt day and conſummation of all things. It conſiſts of ſeveral different revelations, and particularly, two grand different diſpenſations of providence and grace. The one of theſe is perfectly conſiſtent with, and ſuited to the other. It is not eaſy to ſuppoſe an impoſtor either willing to perform, or able to execute any thing of that kind. But when we conſider the creation, and the fall of the Old Teſtament diſpenſation, and the prophets of the different and diſtant ages, conſpiring to forward one great deſign, and the appearance of the long promiſed Saviour at the fullneſs of time ſo exactly correſponding to it, it takes away the poſſibility of a concert, and therefore the ſuſpicions of an impoſtor. It is alſo conſiſtent with the actual ſtate of the world, in which we find two things very remarkable. 1. A great depravity, and wickedneſs. Men may ſpeak, and write what they pleaſe upon the beauty, excellence, and dignity of human nature, taking their ideas from the dictates of conſcience, as to what we ought to be. But it is beyond all controverſy, that if we take mankind from the faithful records of hiſtory and examine what they have been, we ſhall have no great reaſon to admire the beauty of the picture. What is the fame of the greateſt heroes of antiquity? Is it not that, either of conquerors or law-givers? Conquerors give clear teſtimony to the wickedneſs of man, by filling the earth with blood, and ſhewing us what havock has been made in all ages of man, by man. And what is it that lawgivers have done, but diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the beſt means of repelling violence and reſtraining the ungoverned luſts and appetites of men. Now the Chriſtian religion is the only one that gives a clear and conſiſtent account of human depravity, and traces it to its very

original ſource. This conſiſtency of the doctrines of religion with the actual ſtate of the world and preſent condition of the nature of man, is very convincing in the way of collateral, or preſumptive proof. The other particular, remarkable in the ſtate of the world, is, the univerſal prevalence of the offering of ſacrifices, a thing found among all nations, and which continued till the coming of Chriſt. Theſe ſacrifices were a confeſſion of guilt, for they were always conſidered as an expiation. But beſides this, it does not appear how they could have occurred, even in that view, unleſs they had been at firſt a matter of revelation, and handed down to mankind by tradition, and carried with them in their diſperſion over the whole world. It does not appear how any body could have imagined, that taking away the life of a beaſt ſhould be any atonement for the ſin of a man; much leſs does it appear how every body ſhould have agreed in imagining that ſame thing. But if you take it in conjunction with the truths of the goſpel, its agreement appears manifeſt, and its univerſal prevalence is eaſily accounted for. Theſe ſacrifices were inſtituted and ordained of God, as typical of the great propitiatory ſacrifice to be offered in the fullneſs of time, by Chriſt upon the croſs.

LECTURE V.

2. WE proceed now to the ſecond branch of this head to conſider the preſumptive proof of the truth of the Chriſtian religion ariſing from the perſon who is the founder of it. He is indeed not only the founder of it, but the ſubject of it; for the whole may be ſaid to relate to his perſon and undertaking. For order ſake, let us here conſider ſeparately, 1. His character. 2. His ſituation and hopes. 3. The ſpirit of his religion. 4. The meaſures he took to promote it.

I. His character.—This as painted in the gospels in their simple, unaffected, and therefore probably genuine narratives, is truly admirable—the most meek and gentle, the most tender-hearted, the most truly benevolent, and active without ostentation, and the whole crowned and illustrated by fortitude and patience, and the most unconditional subjection to divine Providence. It is unnecessary to go through at length the various excellencies, that adorned the man Christ Jesus. Those who are acquainted with the gospel history, will see the beauty and propriety of the apostle John's expression, 1st chapter of his gospel, and 14th verse, "And the word was made flesh, and dwelt "among us." It is not improper to adduce here, the evangelists' authorities, because they were his disciples and may be supposed interested parties, for they are the only witnesses from which we can expect a testimony upon this subject; and considering them as employed in giving a full account of his character and life, however they might be supposed to disguise or add, they could not wholly conceal a character fundamentally wrong: and as there are more of them than one, it would have been impossible for them to have avoided inconsistencies, and clashing, if they had not kept to the truth in point of fact, at least, if not of character; and indeed their whole histories are facts without any laboured encomiums, which carry the most internal marks of sincerity of any histories extant among men.

There seems not only no designs to embellish their master's character but none to conceal the defects of their own. It is from the partizans of Mahomet only, and what they have recited of his history, including his own writings, that we learn his avarice, pride, and lust. Add to this, that indifferent writers among the heathens have spoken to the praise of Jesus. I am sensible however, and think it best to inform you, that several of the writings taken notice of by some of the ancient Fathers, are probably spurious, as the letters from Agbarus King of Edessa to Christ and the letter in answer to it from Christ to him. Eusebius tells the story of Agbarus having heard of Christ's fame, and sending to him to come and cure him.

Euſebius in this caſe ſeems really to have given credit to it, on the memorials preſented to him by the church of Edeſſa—But the language given to Agbarus is too like that of a Chriſtian, and the anſwer of Jeſus Chriſt is miſquoting, as well as miſinterpreting ſcripture. See Dupins Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. The letters ſaid to be from the Virgin Mary are evident forgeries of a late date. The letter ſaid to be from Pilate to Tiberius is not ſo univerſally acknowledged to be falſe. Biſhop Pearſon has largely and learnedly defended it, and it is very poſſible there might be ſome account ſent from Pilate to Rome at the time of Chriſt's crucifixion, even though the letter now to be ſeen ſhould not be genuine. There is alſo a paſſage of Joſephus, and in all the manuſcripts of that author, very favorable to the character of Chriſt. However without going further into theſe, the very ſilence of Joſephus, who is known to have been an enemy to the Chriſtian faith is an evidence that he had nothing to object againſt the character of Chriſt, as he certainly would have done it willingly, and in the hiſtory of the Jews had ſo fair an opportunity.—The character then of Chriſt was not only blameleſs, but amiable. This is certainly a conſiderable preſumption in his favor. His credentials deſerve to be conſidered with care, and his pretenſions to be weighed with impartiality ; nor ought it to be forgotten here, that his own ſincerity was proven in the moſt unqueſtionable manner. He ſealed his teſtimony with his blood. That he was tried, condemned, and crucified for his pretenſions, is abſolutely certain. This is one of the moſt important facts in the hiſtory of the goſpel, and it does not admit of any doubt, for his enemies reproach him with it, and his friends affirm and glory in it. We may depend upon it therefore that he was ſincere. He would never forfeit all that could be dear on earth, and ſuffer an ignominious death, for what he knew to be falſe.

II. Let us next conſider his ſituation, and hopes ; in any great and hazardous undertaking, eſpecially in an impoſtor, there muſt be ſome poſſible or probable way of accounting for the motives of the deceiver. In this caſe there is nothing that can lead us to ſuppoſe, or that can

well admit the ſuppoſition of his contriving a cunningly deviſed fable. He was of that rank in life, which could not readily inſpire that reſolution; he was of that ſort of education that could not fit him for carrying it into practice, or give the leaſt probable hopes of ſucceſs if he ſhould attempt it. When his enemies, as they all did at firſt called him the carpenter, and the carpenter's ſon, they did not obſerve the force of that when impartially conſidered. One of no higher capacity and inſtruction could neither be ſuppoſed fit to conceive, or execute ſo noble a deſign. Could he, ſuppoſing him a mere man, in that ſphere of life, have the leaſt expectation of prevailing over the power and wiſdom of the world combined againſt him? Whoever weighs this with impartiality, will find it very ſatisfying and convincing to the mind.

III. It receives however great additional force from the next particular, the ſpirit of his religion, and that ſcheme of doctrine, and ſyſtem of duty which he promulgated, and ſupported. It was directly oppoſed (in the firſt place) to the prejudices of the Jews; Could we even ſuppoſe, which is otherwiſe ſo difficult, that all the preparatory diſpenſations, and the whole concordant ſucceſſion of Jewiſh Prophets, and the general perſuaſion of the Jews, and the Eaſtern part of the world, (teſtified by the Heathen Hiſtorians) that a great prince was to come from that country, and lay the foundation of a laſting dominion, happened by chance.—Could we next ſuppoſe that a cunning impoſtor, finding things in this ſituation, was willing to take the advantage of it, and paſs himſelf upon the world for the expected prince, he would no doubt have formed his plan upon the views, which the Jews had; and muſt have founded his hope of ſucceſs entirely upon this circumſtance. They expected a temporal prince, and he came an humble teacher; and ſuffering Saviour. By this means he had not only the diſpoſition of the corrupt, but the prejudices of the beſt part of his countrymen to oppoſe. What a ſtrange ſcheme of human contrivance! he had no reaſon to think he could convince men, and he taught that it was unlawful to force them! This reaſoning is ſupported by experi-

ence. In fact, during the period from Chriſt's death to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, there were many impoſtors who made their appearance, and they every one took the meaſures I have deſcribed above. The Jews expected a mighty Conqueror, and they always appeared at the head of a band of fighting men. Every impoſtor would act the ſame part in a ſimilar caſe.—Again as his plan was oppoſed to the prejudices of the Jews, ſo indeed it was oppoſed to the prejudices of human nature. The croſs of Chriſt was fooliſhneſs to the Greeks, as well as a ſtumbling-block to the Jews. The humility and ſelf-denial of the goſpel and the precepts of paſſive ſubmiſſion, as well as the diſtinct account our Saviour gives to his diſciples of the oppoſition and ſuffering they muſt expect, had nothing in them alluring to the world in general, and did not ſeem at all calculated to draw away diſciples after him. When I ſay this, I am very ſenſible, that moral precepts in ſome degree, muſt ſanctify even an impoſture itſelf. If any man were to pretend a divine miſſion, and teach groſs immorality, he would be deſpiſed, and diſbelieved even by immoral men. But a contrived religion, that the contriver wiſhes to proceed, muſt be accommodated to human taſte.—Whereas, like the religion of Chriſt, true religion has been, is, and always will be contrary to the ſpirit of the word.—I ſhall juſt add that the founder of the Chriſtian faith did not contrive his religion, ſuppoſing it ever ſo ſucceſsful, in ſuch a way as to bring honor or profit to himſelf, or thoſe who ſhould be afterwards concerned in the adminiſtration of it. Inſtead of preaching up form and ceremony, ſtately temples, and coſtly ſacrifices, he preached them down, and ſhewed that they were vain, when conſidered in themſelves, and only valuable, as types and ſhadows, ſo that they were to ceaſe after his appearance. Inſtead of exalting his prieſts and miniſters, he makes them ſervants of all: This reflection upon pure religion, and undefiled, as delivered by our Saviour himſelf, will appear to have great force, if you conſider, that it is from this very quarter, that all the corruptions of Chriſtianity in the following ages took their riſe; they proceeded from that

love of pomp and power, and the influence of that worldly ſpirit, which he took ſo much pains to reſtrain.

IV. Let us conſider what meaſures he fell upon to procure a favourable reception to his doctrine. He called and employed twelve poor illiterate fiſhermen, no way qualified for ſuch an undertaking.

On this part of the ſubject it has been often ſhewn with great force of reaſon, that if the goſpel were a fable, the apoſtles who bore ſo great a part in its firſt publication, muſt have been impoſtors or enthuſiaſts, deceivers, or deceived; both theſe points have been labored by ſeveral eminent writers, and it has been ſhewn, that they could not be either the one or the other. Not deceivers, becauſe they had not the leaſt temptation to it. There was not only nothing to gain by it, but they were obliged to ſuffer the loſs of all things for their adherence to the Saviour. Poverty they muſt, and did ſuffer during his life-time; and though during a great part of his perſonal miniſtry, they had the favour of the people, yet about the time, and ever after his crucifixion, when the apoſtles came to appear upon the ſcene, continual reproach, and univerſal ſcorn was their portion; the truth is, they ſeem to have been forced into the ſervice, for a mixture of fear and unbelief made them all forſake him and fly when he came to his laſt conflict. Neither, could they be enthuſiaſts, and themſelves under the power of deluſion for many reaſons. Their maſter was well known to them, living with them in a ſtate of the moſt intimate familiarity. It was not to a ſingle fact that they bore teſtimony, but to a whole character, and life. His miracles alſo were all plain and public, and of ſuch a nature, as the deceit muſt have been eaſily perceived. But there is another circumſtance more powerful than any other, he profeſſed to endow theſe his diſciples with a power of working miracles themſelves. Now certainly in this they could not be deceived. A man may by great ſlight and addreſs, make me believe he does a thing that he cannot do; but to make me believe that I myſelf through my whole life at a diſtance from him, and even after his death, can, and do perform many things, which yet I do

not, is plainly more than improbable; it is literally impoſſible. So juſt are theſe remarks, that in fact, even the diſciples of Chriſt themſelves, appear ſo far from having laid any ſcheme of deluſion, that they appear plainly at firſt to have been under the ſame prejudices with the reſt of the Jews. They ſeem evidently to have expected him to appear as a temporal prince and conqueror; and probably their hopes of honor and offices in the kingdom which he was to eſtabliſh, contributed at firſt in part to their yielding to the evidence of his divine power. This ſeems to have been the import of the requeſt of the mother of James and John, "Lord grant that theſe my two "ſons may ſit, &c." as alſo it ſeems to have been the meaning of this queſtion put to him by his diſciples in general Acts, 1. 6. "Lord wilt thou at this time reſtore "the kingdom to Iſrael." If this was the caſe, can any perſon believe they were deceived? would not the diſappointment of their carnal expectations have provoked them to forſake him, if they had not been brought under the power of inward conviction from what they ſaw and heard.

It is proper to remark here upon the meaſures he took to procure reception to his doctrine, that he framed his religion totally different in kind, and in principle from all the heathen religions.

They differed from one another in the objects of their worſhip, and in their ſeveral rites, but they were all ſuppoſed to be conſiſtent. There were in different countries and even cities, different gods and different ways of worſhip; perhaps alſo different families had various houſehold gods in one city, but they were not ſuppoſed to be deſtructive of each others divinity, ſo that it was eaſy to introduce the worſhip of a deity into any place in which it had not been before. It was remarked of Athens by an ancient writer, becauſe of its readineſs to adopt the worſhip of every divinity, that it was hoſpitable to the gods. But Chriſt on the contrary in his religion equally oppoſed them all, declaring that the gods made with hands, which the Gentiles worſhipped, were no gods. This was highly conſonant to reaſon, becauſe no lie is of the truth; yet

it would have been highly impolitic in an impoſtor, and indeed would not readily have occurred to an impoſtor. It is remarkable that Lord Shaftſbury has attacked the Chriſtian religion on this very head, he commends the heathen religion as of a ſociable nature, whereas the Chriſtian is abhorrent from all others. This ſhews how much the greateſt men will be made ſilly by prejudices; for nothing can be plainer, than that whatever is according to truth, muſt be oppoſite to every falſehood.—When we put all theſe things together with the enlargements of which they are capable, and which will probably occur to moſt of you, in hearing, they ſeem to take away all poſſibility of ſuppoſing the goſpel to be the product of an impoſtor.

III. The third general head of preſumptive evidence contains the circumſtances attending the publication of the goſpel. Many of theſe are worthy of obſervation, and we ſhall find that, taking them ſingly or collectively, they are in general ſuch as, ſuppoſing the goſpel to be true, greatly illuſtrate the wiſdom of God in the choice of them; but on the other ſuppoſition, they were the moſt unfavorable for procuring a reception, and cauſing ſucceſs to an impoſtor.—The time of Chriſt's appearance is called in ſcripture the fullneſs of time. This indeed may be underſtood as only meaning the appointed time—that which had been fixed by the ancient prophecies. There are however many other reſpects, in which it may be called the fullneſs of time. The ignorance and wickedneſs of the world had come to a full height. The remains of tradition for many ages continued to have ſome effect, but was by this time wholly obliterated by the inventions of men.

There had alſo been full time to try every other method of reformation; ſo that the intervention of divine providence, according to the teſtimony of ſeveral heathen writers, was become neceſſary. Whoever will look into the reaſoning of Cicero, "De natura Deorum," and his other moral, or theological diſputations, will have a very clear and full conviction, how much men of the fineſt genius, and greateſt penetration were bewildered upon the ſubject

of religion. This very thing indeed has been recommended by ſome judicious perſons for a man to ſatisfy himſelf of the neceſſity of revelation in general, and if this is fully done, the acceptance of the Chriſtian religion follows as a ſpeedy conſequence.

We may alſo take notice, that the world in general at the time of Chriſt's appearance, was fitted in a manner it never had been before, for ſpreading the knowledge of the truth with the greateſt facility and ſpeed. The Roman Empire, which had riſen gradually, was then extended in a manner over the whole known world. Before that time, the immenſe number of ſmall, independent, and commonly hoſtile ſtates rendered mutual acceſs, and intercourſe, far more difficult. It is true, before this, the Aſſyrian and Perſian monarchies, were of conſiderable extent but neither comparable to this, nor of any long duration. But now the nations being united under one head, it was eaſy to carry the tidings of ſalvation to the moſt diſtant corners. Add to this the favorable circumſtance, that there was peace over all the world at the time of Chriſt's birth; a fit emblem of his character, who was the Prince of Peace. It was alſo deſigned for another purpoſe that there might be eaſy acceſs, and opportunity to the Apoſtles to fulfil their commiſſions, Mark 16. 15. "Go ye into all the world," &c. The event fully correſponded to this preparation for it in providence; for it is incredible to think with what rapidity the apoſtles carried the name of Chriſt through the world, and how early the goſpel was preached to the moſt diſtant nations. It is alſo obſervable that when this purpoſe had been ſerved by it, the power and greatneſs of the Romans came to an end. As ſoon as the church was planted in different corners of the Roman Empire, that vaſt body which had long been growing to ſuch an enormous bulk, was firſt rent into two parts, and then broken into innumerable ſmaller diviſions. Take it therefore as a great deſign of Providence—the time and circumſtances appear admirably to illuſtrate it. But on the other hand, what probability could there be, that a handful of illiterate mechanics ſhould be able to overthrow the whole ſyſtem

of Heathen theology, that had continued ſo long, and ſpread ſo wide;—that they ſhould think of doing this in oppoſition to the power of princes, the learning of philoſophers, the intereſted policy of prieſts, and the rage, and enthuſiaſm of a deluded people! Strange indeed, that theſe ſucceſsful agents, ſhould come even from an obſcure corner, and from a nation, that was of all others, not merely deſpiſed, but execrated, and abhorred. That they ſhould, notwithſtanding, ſucceed by preaching the divinity of a crucified man, a fact that carried in it the higheſt idea of baſeneſs and ignominy. Finally, that they ſhould do this without the parade or form of worſhip to engage attention; without ſecrets or myſteries to excite veneration; but by the ſimplicity of that truth, which the worldly man deſpiſes and the ſtrictneſs of that law which the ſinner hates.

LECTURE VI.

WE now come to the principal and direct evidences for the truth of the chriſtian religion. This is of ſuch a nature, as to be in itſelf full and concluſive; ſo that if the facts alluded to, be true, the conſequence is neceſſary and unavoidable. Preſumptive evidence is ſometimes of ſuch a nature, and carried ſo far by the concurrence of circumſtances, as to produce even a clear, and full conviction; yet it differs in its kind from the direct concluſive proof.—A few circumſtances of probability do but little, they gradually riſe in ſtrength by an addition to their number, but a direct proof, though ſingle, if juſt, ſatisfies the mind. In this view, the proof of the truth of the Chriſtian religion is the working of miracles. A ſupernatural power is the ſeal, or ſanction of a ſupernatural commiſſion. Perhaps, however, as the Chriſtian religion is the completion of one great ſyſtem, which

began to take place from the very fall of man, was gradually opened in ſucceeding ages, and perfected by the incarnation of the Son of God, we may divide even this ſingle proof into two parts, the one conſiſting of the fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, and the other of the miracles performed by our Lord in the days of his fleſh. Theſe ultimately reſt upon the ſame principle, for the foreſeeing, and the foretelling of events future and diſtant, is as real a miracle, and perhaps as fully ſatisfying to the mind, as any other whatever. But before entering upon theſe two ſeparate branches, it will be beſt to begin with what is common to both, and conſider, 1. What is a miracle. 2. What is its proper import in confirmation of a doctrine, and the force of the proof.

I. Then let us conſider the queſtion, what is a miracle? Some ſay it is a reverſing, altering, or ſuſpending the courſe of nature, or its ordinary or general laws. Some ſay it is doing what is above the power of a creature or a finite being—And ſome, that it is doing what is demonſtrably above the power of the immediate agent.—As to the firſt of theſe I would obſerve, that reverſing, altering, or ſuſpending the courſe of nature, is certainly a miracle: but the definition is not ſufficiently comprehenſive, becauſe every miracle is not of that kind. The predicting the recovery of a perſon in ſickneſs with ſpecial circumſtances, as in the caſe of Hezekiah, or diſcovering a knowledge of things diſtant, as in the caſe of what our Saviour ſaid to Nathaniel, are as clearly and evidently miracles, as any dominion over nature; beſides it is not always in our power to ſay whether there is any controul or alteration of the laws of nature, or not, as when our Saviour ſpoke to the winds and the ſea, and immediately there was a great calm; a ſudden calm might have happened in the courſe of things, and yet it following at that inſtant, carried ſuch conviction with it, that the beholders immediately, and juſtly ſaid, "Behold what manner "of man is this," &c.

Againſt miracles, under this view of controuling the courſe of nature, Lord Shaftſbury, with his uſual vivacity, and at the ſame time with his uſual prejudice and partial-

ity, has objected thus; "ſtrange," ſays he, "to make the "altering the courſe of nature a mark of the Divinity, "when this is not ſo convincing and ſatisfying a proof of "the being and perfections of God, as the order and re-"gularity of the courſe of nature." But nothing can be more equivocal, and indeed diſengenuous than this manner of ſpeaking; for as the firſt conſtitution, and conſtant preſervation of the frame of nature, is a proof of the wiſdom and power of its maker, ſo an expreſs viſible interpoſition in his own work, at his own time, and for his own great purpoſes, is certainly a moſt convincing proof of his power and preſence. I ſhew my power in my family, by altering, as well as giving my commands; and my property in my ground, by cutting down a tree, when I have uſe for it in other ſervice, as well as by planting it, or pruning it. The ſecond definition of a miracle is, that it is doing what is above the power of any finite being, and therefore ſhews itſelf to be the finger of God. This, though very often adopted by writers, I think is liable to great exceptions. We certainly can hardly be thought capable of defining what is above the power of a finite creature, and what not. Creation is juſtly reckoned an incommunicable power, though this is only a conſequence from revelation, and particularly from worſhip being founded upon creation, and from this circumſtance joined with it, that God will not give his glory to another; but what powers God may communicate to creatures, other than this, we cannot ſay, ſuch as knowing the thoughts—perceiving things at a diſtance—making a man to do ſo by private intimation or expreſſion—controuling the elements, and many others that might be mentioned;—therefore I apprehend it is the third that we muſt reſt upon as the true and genuine definition of a miracle, when it is evidently above the natural power of the viſible agent, the perſon at whoſe command, at whoſe deſire, or in atteſtation of whoſe claim, it is wrought. This is the point upon which we can moſt eaſily ſatisfy ourſelves; and it is as ſure an evidence of divine authority, as if we could certainly tell whether the thing produced, could, or could not, be effected by a finite power. It was from this that

the Jews concluded that our Saviour had the preſence and aſſiſtance of God; "For no man can do the miracles that "thou doſt except God be with him."

We are now to conſider what is the import of a miracle, and of its effect in confirmation of a doctrine. Prodigies, and wonderful things properly prove nothing at all, except when they are profeſſedly wrought in atteſtation of ſome truth, or of ſome claim of the perſon who does them. They reſt upon this ſuppoſition, that ſuch a power is an evidence of a divine commiſſion, and they are naturally expected as the credentials of thoſe who pretend a divine commiſſion. The Jews you ſee, made the demand of our Saviour, John vi. 30. "What ſign ſheweſt thou," &c. and though he ſometimes refuſed to gratify their malicious petulance, or obſtinate incredulity, yet in general he appealed to his works, as the juſt and proper teſtimonies of his divine commiſſion, John x. 25. "The works that I "do," &c. John xv. 24. "If I had not done among "them," &c. There are ſome who tell us that a miracle in atteſtation of the truth of a doctrine, muſt be conſidered as a ſanction to it, only if this doctrine is in itſelf credible, conſonant to reaſon, and worthy of belief. Thoſe who reaſon in this manner, ſay, that ſome doctrines are ſo contrary or ſo ſhocking to reaſon, that no evidence can be more plain, even when a miracle is wrought, than the evidence of ſuch doctrines being contrary to the nature and perfections of God. But I look upon this manner of reaſoning to be very unjuſt and unconcluſive. It tends in the reſult to ſet the reaſonings of man, independent of revelation, above the teſtimony of God, and revelation itſelf.—This ſeems to be the darling theme, not only of infidels, but of pretended friends to revealed religion, who are worſe if poſſible than infidels themſelves. It is eaſy to ſee that if this is the caſe, there can be no benefit received by revelation.—Miracles are the only ſanction that can be given to a revelation—Yet before theſe will be admitted, or ſuffered to be heard, theſe reaſoners tell us, that we muſt conſider the doctrine itſelf, whether it is wholly of God; and if they ſhall be pleaſed to judge that it is not, the miracles, and any other evidence that can be given,

are ſet at nought, as of no value, and the matter not even brought to a trial.—This I apprehend to be really the caſe with many in the preſent age: but it ſeems to me very plain, that ſuch is our blindneſs and ignorance in the things of God, that we know very little about them, till they are made known by God himſelf; and if we were to make our own reaſon the previous ſtandard of what was admiſſible or not, in quality of revelation, it would make mad work indeed. I ſhall care very little what men of vain and carnal minds ſay of my ſentiments; but I have been many years of opinion, that as revelation was neceſſary, and revelation is given us, we act the moſt wiſe and truly rational part, if we take all our theological opinions immediately, and without challenge, from the oracles of truth. I confeſs it is agreeable to me to ſhew, that the truths of the everlaſting goſpel are agreeable to ſound reaſon, and founded upon the ſtate of human nature; and I have made it my buſineſs through my whole life to illuſtrate this remark. Yet to begin by making the ſuggeſtion of our own reaſon the ſtandard of what is to be heard or examined, as a matter of revelation, I look upon to be highly dangerous, manifeſtly unjuſt, and inconſiſtent with the foundation-ſtone of all revealed religion, viz. that reaſon, without it is inſufficient to bring us to the knowledge of God, and our duty, and therefore as Socrates ſaid to Alcibiades, "It is reaſonable to think that God will come "down into the world, to teach us his will." I am not inſenſible how far it would be juſt to carry the principle, on which our adverſaries ground their ſentiments. Any new principles or doctrines, ſeemingly abſurd in themſelves, and unholy in their effects, would not, with judicious perſons, be raſhly, or ſuddenly admitted; and the more ſuſpicious the principles are in themſelves, no doubt we muſt examine the pretenſions to miracles the more carefully.—This is the part of prudence; but to carry it further, and ſay, we will receive no evidence that God has taught any thing different from what we ourſelves think reaſonable, is juſt weakening the truth before admitted, that revelation immediately from himſelf is evidently neceſſary.

It will be ſaid by ſome, that ſometimes pretenſions not only to revelation, but to miracles are contradictory, and deſtructive of each other. I admit there may be ſuch a ſuppoſition made, but I look upon it as a neceſſary conſequence of the wiſdom of the divine government that he will not ſuffer any of theſe things to be without ſufficient marks whereby an impartial enquirer may diſcover the difference. This was the caſe of Moſes, and the magicians in Egypt, they were ſuffered to perform many things ſimilar to his miracles, but ſtill the great ſuperiority was to be ſeen in his; and perhaps by the compariſons made between them, and the other, there was the more evident demonſtrations of the finger of God. On this whole ſubject, and particularly the import of miracles, as the proof of a doctrine, See Biſhop Fleetwood's works. —Theſe two preliminary points being diſcuſſed, what remains may be ſtated with the greater brevity, and to the greater advantage. The miracles in behalf of the truth of the goſpel may be divided, as hinted above, into two parts, the fulfilling the prophecies, of the Old Teſtament, and the miracles during Chriſt's perſonal miniſtry.—As to the firſt of theſe, nothing is more plain than the faith of believers being pointed from the earlieſt ages to a Saviour to come. From the firſt promiſe that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head, through all the after diſcoveries of the divine will, this was manifeſt, and indeed more and more manifeſt as it drew nearer to the fullneſs of time. Their foreknowledge and foretelling of future events is one of the moſt ſatisfying kind of miracles, and leaſt liable to deceit. Chriſt was therefore the promiſed ſeed—The deſire of all nations—The hope of Iſrael—The prophet that ſhould come into the world. That he appeared at the time fixed in the ancient prophecies—that he anſwered all the characters or deſcriptions of the ancient prophets, that he did this in a way ſo peculiar, that he plainly fulfilled them, although not in the way the miſtakes of the latter Jews made them expect from him, is clearly apparent; and as I have ſtated under the head of preſumptive proof, their having departed from the genuine ſpirit of the promiſes, and his appearing in a

way contrary to their expectations, only ſeems to deſtroy every ſuſpicion of fraud and impoſture. Impoſture could not have been continued and handed down through ſo many ages. Nothing like this is to be ſeen, or has ever been heard of in the hiſtory of mankind, and therefore Chriſt as the Meſſias of the Jews muſt give the moſt favourable reception to Chriſt as the Saviour of the world.* Here too we might particularly conſider the miracles Chriſt performed in the days of his fleſh. Them he appealed to as the evidences of his divine miſſion. But after the remarks that have been made above on the ſubject abſolutely conſidered, it will not be neceſſary to extend this part of it. I only remark that his miracles were upon the plaineſt ſubjects—the winds—healing the ſick—feeding the multitude—raiſing the dead. The Phariſees fooliſhly aſked a ſign from heaven. It had been much eaſier to have dazzled their eyes with the appearance of ſome extraordinary meteor in the airy regions, than to have given them the proofs which he actually did.—I do not ſtay to illuſtrate the tender and benevolent ſubject of many of his miracles.

LECTURE VII.

WE now proceed to the conſequential proofs of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, that is to ſay, the circumſtances that have ariſen ſince the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and his crucifixion on Mount Calvary. Theſe I ſhall divide into the following branches. 1. Its incredible progreſs by the moſt unlikely means—great ex

* See Redder's demonſtration of the Meſſias.

tent—and long continuance. 2. The great and valuable effects produced by it. 3. The visible fulfillment of scripture prophecies.

I. Let us consider its incredible progress. Immediately after Christ's ascension his disciples went into different parts of the world, and spread the truth with a success, altogether astonishing. It is agreed, I believe, that in less than fifty years the gospel was preached, and embraced throughout the vast extent of the Roman Empire.—This argument does not appear in its full force, unless we consider by what means the effect was produced. The apparent instruments were only a few fishermen of Galilee, without either power or learning. One would think it quite incredible, that any of them should ever think of forming the design, still more so, that they should agree in it; for they were many, and without a head; and that, though agreed, they should carry it into execution. That Minos in Crete, and Numa at Rome, professed lawgivers, and heads of their petty inconsiderable tribes, should pretend intercourse with the gods, and procure reverence for their decrees, or that they should succeed in their little dominions for a very short time, is not wonderful. But that such persons as Matthew the Publican, and his companions should form a design of subverting the whole of the old religion, and introducing the new, and succeed in it, is altogether astonishing. The wonder increases when we consider that these men were not united under any system of government among themselves, further than their principles of obedience to their Master, who had left the world. There was not any of them, who claimed, or possessed superiority over the rest. They were separated from one another without any prospect of ever meeting again on earth.—Yet that they should agree in their doctrine, and propagate one religion, and that their separate writings should be the harmonious and concordant sum and standard of that religion, is not to be accounted for without the power and influence of that Providence, which is over all the earth. It is not to be omitted here, that they obtained this success by preaching the divinity of a man who had been crucified, the most odious and contemptible idea

that could be preſented to the human mind. One would have thought that as ſoon as Chriſt was crucified, it would at once have put an end to all further reſpect and attention to him. This it is moſt likely his enemies, the high-prieſts, and Phariſees thought themſelves quite certain of, which made them ſo intent upon his crucifixion. I cannot help obſerving, that ſome judicious commentators have imagined, that the Devil, the great enemy of mankind, ſuppoſed the ſame thing. He, though acquainted in general, with the end of the Saviour's miſſion, yet certainly was not acquainted with every part of the deſign of infinite wiſdom, and thought, if he prevailed to have Chriſt rejected by the Jews, judged, condemned, and crucified by the Romans, he ſhould entirely defeat the deſign. They ſuppoſe this to be the meaning of his triumphing over principalities and powers, making a ſhew of them on his croſs, and by death, deſtroying them that had the power of death, that is the Devil. I muſt further obſerve, that the whole doctrine of Chriſt, is moſt directly oppoſed to human pride; ſo much ſo indeed, that after it is embraced, and there is a general profeſſion of it in any place, a worldly ſpirit is never at eaſe endeavoring to corrupt and alter it. I ſhall add but one circumſtance more. The goſpel was then ſucceſsful, notwithſtanding the greateſt and moſt violent oppoſition made to it from every quarter. The heathen religions as obſerved formerly were not ſuppoſed to be mutually repugnant, and did not contend with one another; but they all contended with the goſpel, which was indeed their common enemy. The moſt violent perſecutions were raiſed againſt the Chriſtians throughout all the Roman empire. The philoſophers and learned men, who had never contended with the popular religion, all united their force againſt the Chriſtian religion. Yet the divine wiſdom defeated the counſel of the wiſe; and brought to nought the underſtanding of the prudent; that no fleſh might glory in his preſence. I muſt more particularly obſerve that Julian the apoſtate, who was not only the moſt inveterate, but alſo the moſt wiſe, and able enemy that ever ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the Chriſtian faith, tried to aſſault it in every way that could be thought

of, he found that cruelty and violence would not do; then he tried reproach and public ſhame. He encouraged the philoſophers by his kindneſs, and aſſiſted them by his writings, and indeed he carried on his oppoſition with ſo much zeal that he even attempted the reformation of the pagan religion by inſiſting on the heathen prieſts imitating the Chriſtians in their mortified carriage, and the charitable care of the poor. But all would not do, and he himſelf by the circumſtances of his death, proved one of the greateſt means of ſpreading the triumphs of the goſpel. When all theſe circumſtances with enlargements of which they are capable, are taken together, the ſucceſs of the goſpel is a very powerful evidence of its divine original, ſo that we may well ſay as the apoſtle did "ſo mightily grew the word of God and prevailed."

II. The ſecond thing to be conſidered is the great and valuable effects produced by the goſpel. There is the greater reaſon to inſiſt upon this part of the ſubject that enemies have ſhewed a great inclination to deny or miſrepreſent them. I am however perſuaded that on a fair and candid examination, the effects of the goſpel will appear to be truly great, and truely extenſive. The effects of the goſpel may be conſidered in two views, as producing knowledge and practice. Now did not the goſpel introduce ſome knowledge in religion? whoever will compare the ſyſtem of religious belief which prevailed before with that which took place after the publication of the goſpel will ſee the great excellence and virtue of that diſpenſation. Such was the power of divine light, it actually in a ſhort time baniſhed the abſurd polytheiſm and idolatry of the heathen nations. So compleat was the victory that it never has again dared to lift up its head. The enemies of religion are not now even ſtripped of Venus or Bacchus and the whole catalogue of thoſe fictious deities the worſhip of whom while it claimed to be religion was nothing but a diſcipline of ignorance, vice and impurity. The only knowledge of religion which was of value among the ancients was the remains of tradition from the patriarchal age, and whatever now deſerves that

name is borrowed from the goſpel. It was an early remark of the Chriſtian apologiſts, that the goſpel had put to ſilence the heathen oracles.

On this head it is particularly remarkable, that the knowledge of religion, which is the fruit of the goſpel, is the acquiſition of the multitude. There was ſomething of this mentioned formerly in another view. It deſerves however repeated notice, that the goſpel was preached to the poor and brought light, not to particular men, but to mankind in general. A mechanic or peaſant, inſtructed in the oracles of truth, has now more juſt and conſiſtent notions of God, his perfections, his laws, his Providence, than the moſt renowned philoſophers of ancient times.

It is obſerved by ſome when on this ſubject, that the goſpel has introduced the greateſt improvements of human as well as divine knowledge, not but that thoſe arts, which depend entirely upon the exertion of human talents and powers, were carried to as great perfection before, as ſince the coming of Chriſt, in the heathen as in the Chriſtian world, ſuch as poetry, painting, ſtatuary, &c. But natural knowledge, or the knowledge of the conſtitution and courſe of nature, began with, and increaſed by religious light; all the theories of the ancients, as to the formation and preſervation of the earth and heaven, were childiſh and trifling. From revelation we learn the ſimple account of the creation of all things out of nothing, by the omnipotence of God; and perhaps there are few things more delightful, than to obſerve, that the lateſt diſcoveries in philoſophy, have never ſhewn us any thing but what is perfectly conſiſtent with the ſcripture doctrine and hiſtory. There is one modern claſs or ſect of divines, who affirm, that all human ſcience is to be found in the Bible; natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, chronology.—This I am afraid is going too far; but I think it had not been poſſible, for any writer or writers, in the age of the ſacred penmen, to have wrote ſo much on the creation of the world, and its hiſtory ſince that, without being guilty of abſurdities and contradictions; unleſs they had been under the direction of an infallible guide.

The next branch of this head, is, to conſider the effects of the goſpel, as to practice. Here I think, the firſt thing is to conſider the manifeſt tendency, and profeſſed aim of the goſpel itſelf, and its effects on thoſe who truly believe it, and live according to it. The temper and character of ſuch will appear to be truly admirable, and the more ſo upon a very ſtrict and critical examination; if we conſider the nobleneſs of their principles, the ſtrictneſs, regularity, and univerſality of their practice, the uſefulneſs and happy effects of their converſation.—A Chriſtian's heart is poſſeſſed by the love of God, and his will ſubjected to the order of his providence. Moderation and ſelf-denial is his rule, with reſpect to himſelf, and unfeigned good-will, proved by active beneficence, with regard to others. Nor is this at all matter of mere theory—it is certainly matter of experience; nay, its influence hath been, as it ought to be, powerful in gaining the aſſent of others to the truth of the doctrine. The viſible and eminent piety of the firſt miniſters of the New Teſtament, and the earlieſt converts, had the greateſt effect in procuring reception to the principle that produced them. The general integrity of their lives, and the eminent appearance in ſome of them of the illuſtrious virtues, charity, fortitude and patience, was what ſubdued all oppoſition.

The heathens ſometimes reproached one another by the compariſon, ſaying, ſee how theſe Chriſtians love one another; how honorable was it, when one of the apologiſts (Lactantius) was able to ſay, give me a man who is wrathful, malicious, revengeful, and with a few words of God, I will make him calm as a lamb; give me one that is a covetous, niggardly miſer, and I will give you him again, liberal, bountiful, and dealing out of his money by handsful: give me one that is fearful of pain, and of death, and immediately, he ſhall deſpiſe racks, and croſſes, and the moſt dreadful puniſhments you can invent.

If we were to make a compariſon between particulars, I apprehend the advantage would appear very juſt; but it is uſual to ſtate the compariſon, not with regard to thoſe that are truly religious, but to take it from the general conduct of thoſe who profeſs the goſpel. I am not ſure that

any compariſon is juſt; but between real believers and others, however, we may make it both ways, and ſee how it will turn out. Compare the piety, humility, charity, and active zeal of a real Chriſtian, with the moſt ſtrong characters of ancient times, and the great ſuperiority of the firſt will appear. Not only ſottiſh idolatry, but luſt, pride, oſtentation, will appear to tarniſh many of the laſt in a remarkable degree. But even with regard to mere profeſſion, there is reaſon to ſay, that the manners of men are greatly improved, even where they are not ſanctified.

He who will conſider with attention the manners of ancient nations, will ſee great reaſon to abate of that veneration, which his reading their exploits, as recorded by writers of eminence, may ſometimes lead him into. There are perſons to be found of ſuch barbarity, in many inſtances prevailing through a nation—the cuſtom of expoſing their children—and in the caſe of ſome, there was ſuch ferocity and barbarity, either plundering their enemies, or ſelling them for ſlaves—in ſacking cities—as would make a perſon of any humanity, ſhudder in reading them. Rollin's character of the ancient Spartans, and Preſident Goguet's account of the manners in general of the ancient ages, may give ſome conception of this matter.

LECTURE VIII.

THE third branch of this head, is the fulfilling of ſcripture prophecies. This is an argument very ſatisfying to the mind, and which might be illuſtrated by a great variety of examples. The Old Teſtament prophecies, I have had occaſion to conſider in a former part of the ſubject, and ſhall not now reſume further, than by making this obſervation that—there are ſome prophecies here, which not only had their completion in Chriſt, but continue to be fulfilled in this ſtate of the world. Some

entertaining peculiarities of this kind, may be ſeen in ſeveral writers upon the partition of the earth, and the manner of its being peopled. In Delany's Revelation examined with candor; there are ſome things well worthy of the attention of a judicious and critical reader. Take one example, he mentions the prophecy of Iſhmael. "His hand ſhall be againſt every man; and every man's "hand againſt him, and he ſhall dwell in the preſence of "all his brethren." He ſays that this prophecy is fulfilling at this time as well as formerly, that the poſterity of Iſhmael, who ſettled in Arabia, are the wild Arabs, a people that are in a ſtate of oppoſition to all the neighboring nations, that they never were ſubdued by any of the different princes that obtained dominion in different ages, in thoſe countries, and continue unconnected and unſubdued to this day.

But one of the chiefeſt inſtances we have to take notice of, on the ſubject of ſcripture prophecies, is the hiſtory and preſent ſtate of the Jewiſh Nation. The deſtruction of the city and temple of Jeruſalem, was propheſied of by our Saviour in a manner ſo diſtinct and ſo particular, that it is not eaſy to imagine any thing to exceed it. With regard to the temple in particular, he ſaid that there ſhould not remain one ſtone upon another, that ſhould not be thrown down. He deſcribes the extreme miſery of the people, when Jeruſalem ſhould be compaſſed about with armies, and he fixes the time in the moſt preciſe manner, that that generation ſhould not paſs away till all was fulfilled; and finally, he warns his own diſciples when certain ſigns appeared, to fly for ſafety. The reality of thoſe prophecies, from the time in which they happened, and the facts with which they were connected, is ſo well eſtabliſhed, as not to be eaſily capable of contradiction. And when we compare the event with them, it is truly aſtoniſhing; as the guilt of that people, was very great, ſo the judgments on them were the moſt ſignal, terrible, and laſting, that were ever inflicted on any nation.

Their own Hiſtorian (Joſephus) gives ſuch an account of the miſeries of the ſiege, as is painful and ſhocking to read, at the ſame time, the contentions within the walls,

and the unrelenting fury with which they were animated one againſt another; makes it impoſſible to conſider them in any other light, than as a blinded, and deſerted people. Another circumſtance alſo well worthy of attention is, that as they had crucified the Saviour, and were particularly deſirous to have that puniſhment which was not a Jewiſh but a Roman one inflicted upon him; ſo in the courſe of that ſiege they were crucified round their own walls, in ſuch vaſt numbers that they wanted wood to make croſſes to hang them on; all this too was done under the command of Titus Veſpaſian, one of the mildeſt men that ever commanded an army—ſo that the ſupreme order of Providence ſeemed to be forcing into its own ſervice, every apparent inſtrument. It is well known that Titus, far from intending the deſtruction of the temple, had the utmoſt ſolicitude to have preſerved it, but all was to no purpoſe, for God had ſaid it ſhould be deſtroyed. To add no more upon this head, the Chriſtians in general, by attending to their maſter's predictions, and following his advice, were preſerved from the calamity.

Beſide the deſtruction of the polite city, and temple of Jeruſalem, the Jews themſelves, as a nation, continue a ſtanding proof of the Scripture prophecies. Their continuing a ſeparate people, notwithſtanding their diſperſion through all the earth, for above 1700 years, and not mixing with other nations, is an event quite ſingular that never happened in any other caſe; ſo that it appears quite ſupernatural, as if they were prepared by the providence of God to prove the truth of the Meſſiah, and to wait till their converſion ſhall crown the work, and be as the ſcripture ſays, "life from the dead."

The other prophecies in the New Teſtament, in their accompliſhment in the courſe of Providence, do alſo afford much entertainment and inſtruction to a ſerious mind. They are principally contained in the Revelations of St. John the Divine. I ſhall only now take notice of one, viz. anti-chriſt, or the man of ſin, deſcribed in 2d Theſ. 2, 3. "Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf againſt all that is "called God," &c. The proteſtant writers, very gene-

rally ſuppoſe, that the Pope and Roman Catholic ſyſtem of ſuperſtition are the anti-chriſt propheſied of, and indeed they ſeem very much to quadrate with the deſcription. The ſetting in the temple of God, and ſhewing himſelf that he is God, correſponds ſurpriſingly with the extravagant pretenſions to infallibility in that church, and the exceſſive ſecular power and profit which it is intended to bring to the prieſt-hood. The account in the Revelation of kings and princes, giving their power and honor to the Beaſt, and no man being allowed to buy and ſell, but thoſe who had the mark of the Beaſt; correſponds exactly to the arrangements made by the popiſh ſtates for many ages, to the uſurped dominion and to that tyranny over conſcience, which was every where exerciſed. The deſcription of myſtical Babylon, in the 17th of the Revelations, ſeems in all reſpect to quadrate with the city of Rome. The ſeven heads are ſaid to be ſeven mountains on which the woman ſitteth, and in the cloſe of the chapter, it is ſaid "and the woman "whom thou ſaweſt, is that great city, that reigneth over "the kings of the earth." To all this you may add that part of the deſcription, that ſhe was drunken with the blood of the Saints, which was ſo eminently fulfilled in the dreadful perſecutions for conſcience ſake, which were dictated by the anti-chriſtian ſpirit, and carried on in the anti-chriſtian ſtates. To finiſh this parable, the two witneſſes who propheſied in ſack-cloth, are ſuppoſed to be thoſe, who never received the Romiſh ſuperſtitions, the Waldenſes and the Albigenſes in the Piedmonteſe vallies; by the hiſtory of whom it appears, that their faith and worſhip had been the ſame that it was from the beginning, and the ſame that was received, and embraced at the reformation. This remarkable period is ſuppoſed to be painted in the deadly wound given to the beaſt notwithſtanding which it did live, and in the ten horns, which ſhould hate the whore, and make her deſolate, and eat her fleſh, and burn her with fire.

After this account, I muſt obſerve that there are ſome proteſtant writers, who have not fallen in with the ſcheme of making the Pope to be the anti-chriſt, deſcribed in the New Teſtament; and as the apoſtle ſays, there are many anti-

chriſts, ſo theſe perſons ſay there is an anti-chriſtian ſpirit in every church, or the corrupt part conſtantly in oppoſition to the ſound—truth ſtriving with error, and pride with the meekneſs of the goſpel. If this is admitted, the Roman Catholic church, may ſtill be conſidered as the ſcene of anti-chriſtian uſurpation, and it ſhould put all others upon their guard, leſt they in any degree partake of the ſin, and ſo expoſe themſelves to the judgment of the great whore. I ſhall only add, that there is a late opinion advanced by Mr. Glaſs and S——, which, ſo far as I know, was never thought of before theſe, viz. that an eſtabliſhed church is anti-chriſt, that whatever has the approbation and authority of the civil government in any ſtate interpoſed in its behalf, not only may, but muſt be contrary to the goſpel. This is certainly carrying matters to exceſs, as is uſual with intereſted perſons, incenſed with what they ſuppoſe to be injurious treatment. Mr. Glaſs being caſt out of the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland, and perhaps by an unneceſſary ſtretch of power, fell into this reſentful opinion; ſo that I do not ſee how this ſentiment can be ſupported, either from ſcripture or reaſon, as it would ſeem to make it impoſſible for the kingdoms of this world to become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Chriſt: or for kings to become nurſing fathers, and queens nurſing mothers to the church; but ſo far I ſhall readily admit, that an intollerant eſtabliſhment, and all tyranny over the conſcience, partakes of an anti-chriſtian ſpirit.

It will now be time to conſider a little, the objections againſt the Chriſtian religion. It is eaſy to ſee, that there muſt be in every infidel writer, particular cavils and exceptions, which are ſo numerous, and ſo various, that it would be in vain to attempt to mention them; but there are ſome general exceptions, which are to be found in all their writings, and on which they inſiſt moſt that it will be proper to take notice of. Two of theſe have indeed already been taken notice of, as they fell in the way, viz. That reaſon is a ſufficient guide to truth and happineſs and therefore revelation is unneceſſary; and that miracles are im-

poſſible, and incredible. Thoſe I paſs with what has been ſaid on them above.

A 3d. Objection which uſed to be very much inſiſted upon, is the want of univerſality. If the Chriſtian revelation was neceſſary, why was it not given in its full extent, from the beginning of the world, and ſpread through all nations? why was the world in general, ſo long left in darkneſs? and at this time, why are there ſuch vaſt regions, and ſuch multitudes of people, that are without the light of the goſpel? Many different anſwers have been given to this objection; ſome ſhewing the extent to which the goſpel has been carried; ſome ſhewing, that the mercy of God through Chriſt, will extend to all nations, in proportion to the improvement of the meaſure of light afforded them: But I apprehend there is a much more eaſy and ſatisfying anſwer to be given to it, which is this, that the objection proceeds from a groundleſs preſumption, that we are to judge of all the divine proceedings, and find fault with them, becauſe they do not exactly follow the rules which we ſhould have preſcribed.—It militates equally againſt nature and revealed religion.—It may as well be aſked, why is not every reptile a man, and every man an angel? why is not every creature as happy as he poſſibly could have been made? Nature and Providence is full of inſtructive analogy upon this ſubject. Why was not the earth peopled as early and as fully as poſſible? Why were the vaſt tracts of fruitful land in America, ſuffered for ſo many ages to be a wild foreſt, inhabited by wolves and tigers, and a few men almoſt as fierce as they? Nay, we may go much farther, and aſk, why was not the world, which appears to be only near 6000 years old, created millions of years before that period? The true and proper anſwer to every ſuch queſtion is, to reſolve it into the ſovereignty of God—he hath a right to beſtow his mercies, in the time, manner and meaſure, that ſeem good unto himſelf. With regard to the difficulty about creation, ſome have attempted to aſſume a neceſſity, that every thing is neceſſary to the good of the whole; and ſo a worm in its place, is as neceſſary as an angel; and one writer has attempted to prove, that the world could not

have been created any ſooner; becauſe, though it were now a million of years old, inſtead of 6000, the queſtion would ſtill remain: but this is only wading beyond our depth, and uſing words to which if we affix any preciſe, it muſt be allowed, we have not a compleat or adequate idea. With reſpect to the time of the publication, and the extent of the progreſs of the goſpel light, or even the numbers that are benefited by it, I would ſay, "even ſo Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight;" and I would particularly obſerve, that ſtating this as an objection againſt the truth of the goſpel, is forgetting the great and fundamental doctrine of the goſpel, that all men are under ſin, and liable to the divine wrath; and that ſending Chriſt into the world, is an act of free and ſovereign grace. If therefore, it be really mercy to thoſe that are ſaved, no objection can be brought againſt it from the number or circumſtances of thoſe that periſh.

4th. Another great objection againſt Chriſtianity is, that it introduced into the world perſecution for conſcience ſake, which was before unknown. This is an argument on which infidels delight to enlarge. The fierce conteſts that have been upon the ſubject of religion, and the many who have died in the field and been brought to a ſcaffold or ſtake, on religious acts, have been ſet forth in all the force of language. There is no argument uſed by infidels that I think may be more eaſily refuted, or rather indeed, be effectually turned againſt themſelves than this. In the firſt place it is a plain accompliſhment of our Saviour's prediction, "think not I am come to ſend peace "on the earth." Now if this never happened before upon a religious account, which the argument ſuppoſes, by what means ſhould he foreſee it, but by a preternatural knowledge? But after we have gone thus far, we are ſtill to obſerve, that the Chriſtian religion in no other way introduced perſecution for conſcience ſake, than by ſuffering, not inflicting it. It was perſecuted by Jews and Gentiles with unrelenting fury, for 300 years after the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh. Is there any body that opens the Bible, that does not ſee that perſecution is not taught there? It will be ſaid that in after ages, Chriſ-

tians, perfecuted Chriſtians with as much rage, as the Heathen ever did. I anſwer if that matter be carefully looked into, it will be found, that it was the ſpirit of the world, that perfecuted the meek believers in Chriſt in every age. There is a remark of a certain writer that the perfecution carried on againſt the Proteſtants in France, was not by bigots, and thoſe under the power of ſuperſtition; but by thoſe who were low in their principles, and had no religion of any kind.

But this is not ſo great a rarity as he imagined, for it is but ſeldom, that perſons who are much in earneſt about religion themſelves, are concerned in oppoſing others: at any rate, it is manifeſt that none can raſhly judge, much leſs perfecute others, if they attend to the doctrine of the goſpel.

LECTURE IX.

Of the Doctrine of Trinity.

IT ſeems highly neceſſary, that Students of Divinity, ſhould give particular attention to this ſubject, as it relates to the very nature of the true God who is the object of our worſhip and truſt. Indeed as it is ſo nearly connected with the doctrine of redemption, its importance is apparent. We cannot form juſt notions, and indeed hardly any, of the ſatisfaction of Chriſt, without being explicit upon this head. Let us firſt endeavor to ſtate, briefly and clearly as poſſible, what the ſcriptures teach us to believe on the ſubject, as ſummed up in the Proteſtant confeſſion, diſtinguiſhing it from oppoſite errors, and afterwards give a ſuccinct view of the proofs. The doctrine may be

briefly ſummed in two branches (1) firſt the unity of the divine nature (2) the trinity of perſon in the divine eſſence.

Firſt, The unity of the divine nature. That there is but one God, infinite, eternal, unchangeable, indiviſible. The unity of the God-head is greatly inſiſted on in ſcripture. It ſeems to have been the capital article of revealed truth, under the Old Teſtament deſpenſation, in oppoſition to the vanities of the gentiles. The firſt commandment of the decalogue is, " thou ſhalt have no other " gods before me," and again Deut. 6. 4. " Hear O Iſrael " the Lord, or God, is one Lord." The glory of God, is particularly aſſerted upon this ſubject, that he will not give his glory to another nor his praiſe to graven images. The unity of God ſeems to be the grand article of natural religion, clearly ſupported by reaſon from the impoſſibility of ſuppoſing infinite perfection to reſide in more than one ſubject, as well as from the harmony and unity of the deſign that appears in the univerſal ſyſtem. This part of the ſubject ſuffers no difficulty, which ariſes from the addition of the other particular from revelation, viz. (2) that in this unity of the divine nature, and in a perfect conſiſtency with it, there is a threefold diſtinction. In other words there is the moſt perfect ſimplicity and unity of nature and yet in the mode of exiſtence a plurality. We call it in Engliſh three perſons, in the god-head. The ancient fathers uſed to call it in greek *treis upostaseis*. It would be wrong to contend that either of theſe gives a full and adequate idea of it, becauſe indeed it is incomprehenſible. For in the language of inſpiration, it is ſaid to be the Father, the Word or the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt or Spirit. As ſoon as men began to diſpute upon the ſubject, and exerciſe their reaſon, imagination, or invention upon a matter of mere revelation (as was ſoon done, by the mixture of platonic philoſophy with the ſtudy of the ſcriptures) they fell into various oppoſite errors, which however were all of them conſtantly condemned and oppoſed, by the conſent of orthodox writers. Some ſaid there was no diſtinction at all, in the divine being, only he was repreſented in different lights, and made known

by different names, as ſtanding in different relations to us. Sibellius, I believe was the firſt author of this doctrine, and they were afterwards called from him Sabellians, and ſometimes Paterpaſſians, from the conſequence of that doctrine, that the Father as much as the Son, muſt have ſuffered upon the croſs. Others went to the oppoſite extreme, and ſuppoſed there are three wholly diſtinct, and independant, but concordant beings; neither of theſe have ever been the general ſentiments of Chriſtian divines; nor do I think any of them is at all agreeable to ſcripture or reaſon. We find in ſcripture, moſt clear, and poſitive aſſertions of the unity of God on the one hand, and on the other, a real plurality, in ſome reſpects. There is a common, peculiar and reciprocal, but diſtinct agency. The Father is ſaid to beget the Son—to ſend the Son—and the Son to pray to the Father, to promiſe and to ſend the Spirit, which is ſaid to proceed from the Father—and the ſolemn benediction, is in the name and the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt.

Some time before the council of Nice, Arius, ſet a foot his notions of the inferiority of the Son and Spirit, calling them, either properly, or improperly creatures. I uſe the word improperly, becauſe there were ſome, eſpecially in latter times, called refined Arians, who reſpected the Son, as dependant in the order of nature; but at the ſame time, as an eternal effect, from an eternal cauſe. In oppoſition to Arius, the council of Nice, aſſerted the Son to be truly and properly God, of one ſubſtance with the Father, ſelf-exiſtent, and independent. Laſt of all came the Pelagians, and the Socinians, who denied the divine nature of Chriſt altogether, and aſſerted that he was only a man. Theſe opinions as doing the utmoſt violence to ſcripture, and over-throwing the whole doctrine of redemption, deſerve to be treated with the utmoſt abhorrence. Nor indeed are Arians at bottom much better, becauſe the difference between the moſt exalted creature, and the meaneſt, vaniſhes altogether, when compared with the difference between the mightieſt order of created beings, and the true God.

The whole œconomy of our ſalvation teaches us, the neceſſity of attending to, and believing this doctrine; but I ſee neither neceſſity nor propriety, in endeavoring to dip into the mode of it, and attempting to explain it. If it be a myſtery and above our comprehenſion, every attempt to explain it muſt be, if not criminal, yet unſucceſsful. And indeed this is the caſe with almoſt every thing that relates to God, or is connected with the Divine perfection. The wiſeſt way for us with regard to all revealed truth, is to receive it as revealed, not preſuming to be wiſe above what is written.

I do not mean by this to condemn the Council of Nice, for though there may not be a great deal in ſome of the expreſſions uſed by them, their only meaning was, to expreſs their diſapprobation of the opinion of Arius, which was certainly ſubverſive of the proper divinity of Chriſt. But I apprehend we ought to condemn the making emblems of this truth, ſuch as a triangle inſcribed in a circle. This at leaſt is of no uſe, or more probably it is always pernicious, and indeed I ſhould think it a direct breach of the ſecond commandment: nay, I think attempting to explain it by the powers of created intelligences is no way ſafe or proper, although done by ſome very worthy men. For an example, when the trinity is ſuppoſed to correſpond with power, intellect and will, in the human nature.

It is not the uſual way on moſt ſubjects, to introduce or anſwer objections, before propoſing the proof; yet I believe it will be the moſt proper method, on the ſubject we are now treating. The difficulty here does not ariſe from the weakneſs, uncertainty, or obſcurity of the proof; but from the power of prejudice. In order therefore, to prevent or deſtroy prejudice, it will be beſt, to conſider what objections lie in the way of the doctrine. The rather indeed, that all objections to the doctrine itſelf are reducible to one—that it is contrary to reaſon, abſurd, inconceivable, or impoſſible. It is ſurpriſing to think, with what inſolence and triumph, ſome have pretended to treat this ſentiment, ſaying it is a contradiction, that God ſhould be both one and three, at the ſame time.

But notwithſtanding the great confidence with which enemies to the truth talk upon this ſubject, I am ſincerely of opinion, that their confidence never could be more miſplaced. Let us examine the matter coolly and impartially. When men ſpeak of a thing as againſt reaſon, and yet pretend to believe in Revelation, the meaning muſt be, that it is ſo manifeſtly abſurd and ſelf contradictory, that no proof can ſupport a revelation which contains it. But in order to this it muſt be a thing altogether within the compaſs of our reaſon and judgment, if otherwiſe the firſt unexperienced dictate of reaſon, is nothing at all; neither for, nor againſt it. The ſtate of nature and experimental philoſophy did ſcarcely ever ſhew things to be what men imagined them before; neither is it at all wonderful that revelation ſhould inform us of what we could not have ſuſpected. The uſe of revelation indeed implies this. Therefore the common diſtinction of ſyſtematical divines, is far from being either obſcure, or improper, that things may be above reaſon, and yet not contradictory to it.

By this expreſſion above reaſon, may be underſtood two things—beyond the power of reaſon to diſcover, and above the reach of reaſon to comprehend. In the firſt ſenſe, it would be abſurd to controvert it, and even in the other, if it was carefully attended to, and prejudice laid aſide, there would be little difficulty. The enemies of the truth always put more in the idea, than is intended, or ought to be contained in it. The juſt ſtatement of it is preciſely this, we believe a fact which is fully proved and authenticated; although there are ſome circumſtances, as to its cauſe and conſequences, that we do not underſtand. There are many things in theological, moral, and natural knowledge, in which the caſe is the very ſame. I believe that God is a ſpirit, and that there are alſo created ſpirits different from God, wholly unembodied, and yet I have very obſcure and indiſtinct ideas, if any idea properly at all, of what a ſpirit is, and the manner of its operations. Carteſians believe that a ſpirit has no extention, and that a hundred thouſand of

them may be in the ſame place; which by the bye is an example of the abſurdity with which men talk upon ſubjects which they do not underſtand; for according to them, place is a relation incompetent to a ſpirit, and therefore it is as abſurd to ſay that a ſpirit is in a place, as that three are in the ſame place. The whole matter is above our comprehenſion, and no man can make me underſtand either how diſtinct ſubſtances can occupy the ſame place, or even the Newtonian opinion, that a ſubſtance, ſimple and indiviſible, can be in every place. From which it is demonſtrable that there may be many circumſtances relating to things of great moment and certainty, that are to us totally incomprehenſible. In natural things I believe that the ſeeds rotting in the ground, is the mean of producing the blade of the future ſtalk; but if you aſk me how this is done, or how the moiſt earth can have any influence either on the mortification or the growth, I know nothing at all about it.

Therefore though we ſay that the trinity in unity is incomprehenſible, or above reaſon, we ſay nothing that is abſurd or contrary to reaſon; ſo far from it, I may ſay rather it is conſonant to reaſon and the analogy of nature that there ſhould be many things in the divine nature that we cannot fully comprehend. There are many ſuch things in his providence, and ſurely much more in his eſſence.

But when our adverſaries are preſſed upon this ſubject, they ſay ſometimes it is not an incomprehenſible myſtery we find fault with, but an apparent contradiction that God ſhould be three and one. We know very well what numbers are, and we know perfectly, whatever is three, cannot be one, or one three. But this is owing to great inattention, or great obſtinacy. We do not ſay there are three Gods and yet one God; three perſons and yet one perſon; or that the Divine Being is three in the ſame ſenſe and reſpect that he is one; but only that there is a diſtinction conſiſtent with perfect unity of nature. I apprehend great reſerve and ſelf-denial is our duty on this ſubject. It has ſometimes been ſaid why ſhould we doubt whether there can be three perſons in one nature,

when we ourſelves are an example of an incomprehenſible union of this nature in our perſons. If this be uſed merely as an illuſtration, and to ſhew that the thing is poſſible and credible, I have no objection to it; but if it be carried farther, it is improper and dangerous.

Upon the whole, we ought to conſider the objection againſt this doctrine as altogether ill founded, and be ready to receive with all humility the Revelation of God upon this ſubject juſt as he has been pleaſed to communicate it.

The ſecond thing to be attended to is the proof of the doctrine, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. On this I will, juſt very ſhortly conſider the ſcripture proof of the Trinity in general, and then at ſome more length, point out the proofs of the proper Deity of Chriſt the Son; upon which laſt, as is natural to ſuppoſe, the controverſy hath always chiefly turned.

The proofs of the Trinity in general may be taken (1) From the form of baptiſm; we are commanded to baptiſe in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghoſt.

As baptiſm is the initiating profeſſion taken from all converts, it ſeems evidnetly to point at the great object of worſhip and obedience. Neither do I ſee at all how it can be accounted for, that the Son and Holy Ghoſt ſhould be claſſed and put upon the ſame footing with the Father—but upon the ſuppoſition of this truth. And indeed their very deſignation leads us to an equality of rank, it is not ſaid in the name of God, and the name of Jeſus of Nazareth, or his human name, but in the name of the Father and the Son. Thoſe who will conſider this matter attentively will find more in it than perhaps at firſt ſight appeared. Baptiſm is certainly the badge of Chriſtianity, the ſeal of God's covenant. With whom then is a covenant made? Doubtleſs with thoſe in whoſe name we were baptiſed, and therefore our covenant God, is moſt fully deſcribed by Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt. To this you may add, that the Apoſtle Paul ſeemed plainly in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, to conſider baptiſm as pointing at ſomething very different from any relation

that a minister could sustain. 1 Cor. 1, 13, 14, 15. "Is "Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you," &c.

2d. The proof of the Trinity in general may be taken from the form of solemn benediction, the love of God the Father, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. As in the former instance the three are taken in as the object of worship and obedience, here they are plainly conjoined as the source of blessedness.

3d. The proof of the Trinity in general may be taken from an express passage of scripture, 1 John, 5, 7. "there "are three that bear record in heaven," &c.

LECTURE X.

WE come now to prove the doctrine of the Trinity from the proofs of the proper Deity of the Son and Spirit. On this the controversy has chiefly turned, and especially the first, the divinity of the Son; because if this was admitted it would be to very little purpose to object against the other; for this reason we find that ever since the first starting of the controversy it has been litigated with great zeal and warmth on both sides; this was to be expected as it must evidently appear an article of the utmost moment to both. I must observe, however, that the controversy has been chiefly managed by Arians till of late years. Now it seems to me there are but very few proper Arians, the greater number of the opposers of the truth are Socinians.

You are not to expect that I should go through the whole of this controversy, which has been carried to so great a length; the passages of scripture adduced on both sides, are more numerous than we would suppose; and the criticisms, objections and answers, are exceedingly voluminous. You will say then, the controversy must

needs be difficult and obſcure.—The conſequence is not juſt, for whenever there is a ſtrong bias and inclination one way, it is eaſy for ingenious men to perplex and lengthen out a diſpute. The great matter is the objection I mentioned in the preceding diſcourſe. If men be once fully ſatisfied that this thing is not impoſſible or incredible, and be willing to aſſent to the account of the nature of God, without prejudice, as it ſtands in his own word, I do not think there is any uncertainty in it at all. I ſhall ſtate to you the chief heads of any importance that have been uſed.

1. The name of God, and his titles, the moſt tranſcendant and peculiar, are given to Chriſt. Through the Old Teſtament, the name of Jehovah or Lord, but particularly the firſt, is given to one who is often called an angel, and the angel of the covenant; and by this manner of ſpeaking in ſeveral paſſages, muſt be diſtinguiſhed from God the Father, as in the 110th pſalm, the Lord ſaid unto my Lord.—This therefore muſt be underſtood of Chriſt. The angel who appeared to Hagar, Gen. 16, and that appeared to Jacob at Bethel, Gen. 13, are both called God.—In Exodus, chap. 3, an angel is ſaid to have appeared to Moſes, at the buſh, and yet this angel ſays, I am the God of your father, the God of Iſrael, who delivered the law on mount Sinai, and yet Stephen ſays, Acts vii. 38, that it was an angel that ſpoke unto Moſes, upon mount Sinai, and was with the fathers: but what ſerves to apply many of theſe paſſages in the moſt preciſe manner, is comparing Numb. xxi. 8. with 1 Cor. x. 9. in the firſt it is ſaid, that the Iſraelites tempted God, and ſpake againſt God, and that therefore he ſent among them fiery ſerpents.—In the other paſſage the apoſtle Paul affirmeth, that this was Chriſt. Let us not tempt Chriſt, as ſome of them alſo tempted, and were deſtroyed of ſerpents. See farther, Pſalm ii. 12. "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Pſal. xlv. 7. "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," &c. which paſſage the apoſtle Paul applies to Chriſt. 1 Heb. i. 8. "But unto the Son he ſaith, thy throne O God, is for "ever and ever," &c. Another proof may be taken from Prov. viii. 22. The deſcription of wiſdom—again, in Iſa. vi.

from the beginning, " In the year that king Uzziah died," &c. This paſſage is expreſsly applied to Chriſt, by the apoſtle John xii. 41. when having cited the paſſage, he ſays, " theſe things ſaid Iſaiah," &c. the truth is, there is hardly any writing in the Old Teſtament, but by comparing it with the New, we may draw a proof of the divinity of Chriſt.

2. The thing itſelf—the propoſition that Jeſus Chriſt is God, is contained in the moſt explicit terms, not in one, but in many places of ſcripture—not in figure, but in plain ſimple language, John i. 1. " In the beginning was " the word," &c. Phil. ii. 6. " Who being in the form of " God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God," &c. John x. 30. " I and my Father are one." 1 John v. 20. " This is the true God, and eternal life." It would be endleſs to mention all fetches and imaginations of men, under the power of prejudice, to evade theſe texts: but I only call to your mind what was before mentioned—Cleave to either ſide of the queſtion, and ſay Whether or not the ſcriptures have plainly affixed Chriſt's divinity?—It is not only the affixations, but the reaſoning upon ſome of them, that fixes the ſenſe, as in the Philippians. And in that affirmation, I and my Father are one, it is undeniable that the Jews underſtood him in that ſenſe, for it is added, " they " immediately took up ſtones to ſtone him," &c. It has been often ſaid by reaſoners upon this ſubject, ſuppoſing it was the deſign of the ſcripture to affirm the divinity of Chriſt, it does not appear what plainer or ſtronger words could have been uſed.

3d. The moſt diſtinguiſhing and eſſential attributes of the true God are given to Chriſt. I ſhall mention only his eternity, immutability, omniſcience, omnipreſence and omnipotence. It is not eaſy to conceive any attribute incommunicable if theſe are not. Eternity ſeems plainly to be aſcribed to him, Prov. viii. 22. Rev. i. 8. &c. and in the famous paſſage, Mic. v. 2. " Whoſe goings forth have been of old from (1) everlaſting." Indeed I reckon the frequent appellation of Jehovah is a ſufficient proof of this; the word is derived from what ſignifies exiſtence—Exod. iii. 14. John viii. 38. (2) Immutability, Heb. i. 10. Heb. xviii.

8. " Jeſus Chriſt the ſame yeſterday, to day, and for ever." (3) Omniſcience. John xvi. 30. " Now we are ſure that " thou knoweſt all things ;" and again, John xxi. 17. " Lord thou knoweſt all things," &c. It is remarkable, that the knowledge of the heart is aſſerted in ſeveral paſſages, to diſtinguiſh the true God, 1 Kings viii. 39. " Therein thou only knoweſt the hearts of the children of " men."—and John xvii. 10. " I the Lord, ſearch the " hearts, and try the reins," &c. yet this very perfection our Lord claims to himſelf, Rev. ii. 23. and the apoſtle John teſtifies, that he knew all men, John ii. 24.—and knew what was in man, John ii. 25.—this is further confirmed, iv. 12, 13. " The word of God," &c.

(4.) Omnipreſence. Matth. xviii. 20. " Where two or " three are gathered together in my name," &c. Matth. xxviii. 20. " Lo, I am with you always," &c.

(5.) Omnipotence. Col. i. 17. " By him all things con- " ſiſt." Creation is aſcribed to Chriſt, John i. 3. " All " things were made by him," &c. and in the ſame chapter, verſe 10, " and the world was made by him." Heb. i. 2. " by whom alſo he made the world." Col. i. 15, 16, 17. " who is the image of the inviſible God," &c. The argument from creation, is very ſtrong.—It is the firſt and great relation we ſtand under to God, nor can we conceive any thing that more properly, or in a more diſtinguiſhing manner characterizes the true God, who pleads ſo often, to diſtinguiſh himſelf from the vanities of the Gentiles, Pſal. xix. 1. " The heavens declare the glory of God, and " the firmament ſheweth his handy work."

5. The fifth and laſt proof of the divinity of Chriſt, may be taken from divine worſhip being commanded to be given to him without reproof, and being accepted by him, when it is expreſsly rejected by the inferior miniſters of Providence. It is commanded to be given to him, John iii. 22, 23. " The Father himſelf judgeth no man." Phil. ii. 5. " Wherefore, God, hath highly exalted him," &c. It is actually given him by the wiſe men, Matth. ii. 11. By the rulers of the Synagogue, Matth. v. 8. By women of Canaan, Matth. xv. 25. By the diſciples in general, Matth. xx. 5. And you ſee that worſhip is rejected by an angel, preciſely as fact, Rev. xxii. 8, 4.

LECTURE XI.

I PROCEED now ſhortly to conſider the proofs of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The firſt thing neceſſary here, is to eſtabliſh the perſonality of the Spirit.—That he is properly a perſon or ſubſtance, and not merely a power, gift or qualification. The name of ſpirit, in all languages ſignifies a wind or breath.—It is ſuppoſed this word is choſen to repreſent divine things or the divine nature, becauſe it bears ſome reſemblance to what is unſeen, and yet infinitely powerful. The wind is made uſe of to repreſent the Holy Ghoſt, and to ſignify angels and the ſouls of men, and alſo the gifts and graces of the Spirit.—That when the Holy Ghoſt is ſpoken of, a perſon or ſubſtance is meant as diſtinguiſhed from any grace or qualification he may poſſeſs or beſtow, may be eaſily made to appear from many paſſages of ſcripture, John xiv. 16. "And I "will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Com- "forter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the "Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive." John xvi. 13. "When he the Spirit of truth is come," &c. 1 Cor. xii. 4. "There are diverſity of gifts, but the ſame "Spirit," &c. The form of baptiſm alſo proves the ſame thing, as well as all thoſe paſſages that ſpeak of giving the Spirit—reſiſting the Spirit, &c.

That the Holy Ghoſt is truely and properly God, I think appears with great evidence from the form of baptiſm, now that we have fully proved the divinity of Chriſt, whoſe perſonality we cannot doubt. The Holy Ghoſt being joined with the Father and the Son, carries the ſtrongeſt conviction with it that he is of the ſame nature with both. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the form of ſolemn benediction.

The divinity of the Holy Ghoſt ſeems to be eſtabliſhed in Acts, 5, 3. where Peter ſays to Annanias and Sapphira, "Why hath Satan filled thine heart," &c. We might alſo from ſeveral paſſages ſhew the divine attributes given to the Spirit, as omnipotence, Pſalm 119. "Whither ſhall "I go from thy Spirit," &c. Omniſcience, Cor. 2. 10. "The Spirit ſearcheth all things even the deep things of "God," nay creation ſeems to be aſcribed to him as well as the Son, Gen. 1, 2. It is ſaid "the Spirit of God "moved upon the face of the waters," and Job 33, 4. "The ſpirit of the Lord hath made me, and the breath "of the Almighty hath given me life.

There were in the ancient churches conſiderable controverſies about the expreſſion of the articles of faith upon this ſubject. The very words of ſcripture, John 15, 26. are that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father. He is alſo called the Spirit of the Son, and the Spirit of Chriſt, Rom. 8, 9. Gal. 14, 6. Phil. 1, 14. 1 Pet. 1, 11. both the Father and the Son are ſaid to ſend the Spirit, John 15, 26. John 16. 7. Gal. 4, 6. Luke 24, 49.

Therefore the uſual way of ſpeaking and that in all the ancient ſymbols and confeſſions is, that the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father and the Son. If any one ſhould preſume to enquire farther into the meaning, or aſk the difference between being begotten and proceeding, I ſhould willingly and chearfully confeſs my ignorance, and that I believe all others are equally ignorant, and that every attempt to ſay more than is actually contained in ſcripture is not only impoſſible but hurtful. There was a very violent diſpute between the Latin and Greek churches whether it was proper to ſay the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father and Son, or from the Father only. The whole current of antiquity, and the whole Latin churches are for the former, as well as the Proteſtants in general; but it is not a modern controverſy.

I proceed to conſider ſome of the objections againſt the reaſoning above, and unleſs I enter into the criticiſms or particular texts, they may be all reduced to the reaſoning on the titles and attributes. They object that ſome

of the higheſt titles were not given to the Son, as—the higheſt or moſt high—the Almighty or Supreme over all—one God and Father of all—one God of whom *are* all things. But it is eaſy to anſwer that none of theſe titles are greater or more diſtinguiſhing than, as has been ſhewn, do really belong to Chriſt, and that ſome of thoſe mentioned are alſo aſcribed to Chriſt; ſuch as the Almighty, and God over all. So that they are obliged to have recourſe to the meaneſt quibbles, to interpret away theſe texts. As for the expreſſion one God, and the title one God the Father of whom are all things—they are plainly uſed in a diſtribution of perſonal acts or prerogatives, one God the Father, *of* whom are all things, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt *by* whom are all things.

The other objection is that ſuch titles are aſcribed to him in a lower ſenſe than to the Father. Nothing could ſuggeſt ſuch an objection as this except the power of prejudice. They muſt firſt take for granted their own ſentiments before they can perceive any ſuch thing, beſides many of them are ſuch as do not admit of a proportion in this way—ſuch as creation—omniſcience—omnipotence.

LECTURE XII.

Of the Decrees of God.

WE have this ſtrong aſſertion in ſcripture, "can any "by ſearching find out the Almighty," &c. If the nature of God has ſomething in it altogether unſearchable to us, ſo muſt alſo his decrees. It is certainly proper and neceſſary for divines to know all that can be known on this ſubject, and therefore the ſtudy of a whole life would be well beſtowed on it, if it were ſure of ſucceſs. Yet I apprehend a caution is not unneceſſary while we are entering upon it. Our

great wiſdom conſiſts in receiving, admitting, remembering and applying whatever is clearly revealed in ſcripture, both with regard to the nature and government of God; at the ſame time we ought to reſtrain an impatient curioſity, and guard againſt unneceſſary, inexplicable and hurtful queſtions on theſe ſubjects. The ſcriptures do not contain any thing that is unfit for us to know. If it ſeemed neceſſary to God to reveal the univerſality of his providence and the certainty of his purpoſe, we ought without doubt to believe and improve it. On the other hand let us not preſume to go any farther than he hath pointed out to us the way. Whatever he hath covered with a veil it would be both raſhneſs and impiety to attempt to penetrate. It is therefore my deſign to ſtate this matter to you in as preciſe and ſcriptural a manner as I am able, although I muſt neceſſarily uſe ſeveral of the theological ſyſtematical phraſes, becauſe without them the various opinions could neither be ſifted nor explained.

The expreſſion itſelf "the decrees of God" is in a great meaſure if not wholly technical. In the Old Teſtament indeed there are ſeveral expreſſions particularly relating to the frame and conſtitution of nature which are tranſlated in the Engliſh Bible decrees, as in the Prov. 8. 29. "When "he gave to the ſea his decree," &c. and in the ſecond Pſalm ſpeaking of the raiſing Meſſiah to his throne. "I will declare the decree." In all of theſe I believe (for I have conſulted moſt of them) it is the ſame word that is frequently or uſually tranſlated—*ſtatute*, and to be ſure has a meaning ſomewhat ſimilar to that of the word uſed in theology, that is, it ſignifies the order or purpoſe of God in nature and providence. In the New Teſtament there is no expreſſion on this ſubject that has been tranſlated decree, though ſome of the *phraſes* might have been ſo tranſlated. The expreſſions in the New Teſtament are *council*, *purpoſe*, *determinate council*, *foreknowledge*; and when it relates to the ſtate of man, *chooſing*, *ordaining*, *predeſtinating*. I enter upon the criticiſm of the Greek words, becauſe I think it is manifeſt they are not only tranſlated well into Engliſh, but that they are moſtly if not wholly of the ſame import that they are uſually un-

derſtood to poſſeſs. I ſhall now ſhew you a ſample of the Socinian criticiſm on Acts 13. 48. It is ſaid *osoi esan tetagmenoi eis zoeen aionion*, which they tranſlate, "as many as were ſet in order, or well prepared for eternal life believed." They obſerve that *tetagmenoi* means ſet in order like a diſciplined army. But it is manifeſt that the word here means *particularly appointed* and *ordained*. By comparing together the ſeveral expreſſions uſed, the meaning that we muſt aſſign to the whole is, that the plan of Providence and grace, as well as the ſyſtem of nature, muſt be ſuppoſed to be fixed and determined, and not looſe and uncertain, till the event, or till one thing be aſcertained or determined by another.—That things are not to God as they are to us, to whom things future have no certainty or ſtability, but that as far back as we can carry our ideas they were known and therefore certainly ordained. Or as ſome expreſs it, that every thing that comes to have a tranſient exiſtence in time, had as it were an original eternal pre-exiſtence in the divine mind. Yet after all, you ſee there is ſomething in the expreſſion *decrees* or *purposes* which ſeems to take its riſe only from our own ſituations and imperfections.

Men are obliged to meditate, concert and digeſt their plans of future conduct before they begin to act, and then it is called their purpoſe, reſolution, or deſign, as diſtinct from the actual execution. From this we ſeem by analogy to borrow the divine decrees. Yet every thing that implies, or ariſes from ignorance, uncertainty, weakneſs, or imperfection, muſt be as much as is in our power, ſeparated and abſtracted, when we ſpeak of the decrees of God.

This leads us to obſerve, that it has often been remarked by divines, that we are not to conſider the divine decrees, in ſo far as they are acts of the divine will, as being any thing different or diſtinct from the divine nature. There are ſome who have uſed the expreſſion immanent decrees, a phraſe which I confeſs I do not in the leaſt degree underſtand the meaning of, and therefore I can nei-

ther affirm nor contradict it; without doubt we are to separate every thing belonging to created weakneſs. We are not to ſuppoſe that God needs forethought to diſcover, or time to digeſt his plans, or that by any act of his will he ſeeks information, or ſeeks or receives gratification from any thing without him—If by calling the decrees of God immanent acts, it is meant to deny theſe, it is ſo far juſt. But when it is affirmed that the acts of the divine will, are the ſame with the divine nature, as if this explained the difference between divine and human volitions, this I confeſs is to me quite incomprehenſible.

In what ſhall be further offered on this ſubject, I ſhall follow this method:—

1. Speak a little of the object of the divine decrees.
2. Of the order of the decrees.
3. Of the character, quality, or attributes of the decrees as given in ſcripture.
4. Of their uſes.

I. Let us conſider the object of the decrees, and of this but a little, becauſe it will occur again where it is of moment to examine it; yet it will throw ſome light upon ſome parts of the doctrine, to obſerve,

(1.) That the objects of the divine decrees, are ſtrictly and properly univerſal; ſo much ſo indeed, as not to admit of any exception, or ſhadow of exception—all creatures, and all their actions, and all events. Let us vary it as we pleaſe, ſtill it relates to every action, and every mode of the action, and every quality that can be attributed to it—whatſoever comes to paſs. The reaſon of this is plain—whatever we ſhall think fit to ſay upon the connexion or influence of one creature or thing upon another, from which all the difficulty and confuſion ariſes, yet every ſuch thing, and that connection itſelf, as much as the things to which it relates, is the object to which the divine foreknowledge, and the divine purpoſe extended. One would think that men ſhould be agreed on this point; and probably they are ſo, if they underſtood one another; all but thoſe extravagant perſons, as they may well be called, who finding themſelves hard preſſed by the arguments drawn from the di-

vine prefcience, have thought it beft to deny the foreknowledge of God altogether, or affirm that nothing that is future can poffibly be certainly, or any more than conjecturally known, till it happens.—But this fentiment is fo repugnant to fcripture, and indeed to the common fenfe and reafon of mankind, that few have ftrictly and fincerely defended it, though fome have occafionally and hypocritically advanced it.

(2.) With refpect to the object of the divine decrees, it muft be admitted, that there is fome difference between the light in which fome events and actions are to be confidered, and others—The great difficulty indeed, and that which will fpeedily fet bounds to our enquiry on the fubject, is to fhew wherein the difference confifts; yet it is equally certain, from revelation and reafon, that natural good and evil, and moral good and evil, are to be confidered as not in the fame fenfe, the object of divine appointment. This leads us to the

IId. General head, which was to conſider the order of the decrees. Many things may be, and many things have been faid upon this fubject—Divines who have publifhed fyftems, have generally exercifed their ingenuity in giving what they call an order of the decrees. The chief thing fuch writers have in view, is to form a conception for themfelves and others, with regard to, and to account for, the divine purpofes, with regard to the final ftate of man. The orders which have been laid down by different writers, are fo very numerous, that they all feem to me to labor under, and equally to labor under, this prodigious weakneſs, that they repreſent the Supreme Being as varying and marfhalling his views, and comparing as men do, which yet is acknowledged to be wrong.—They alfo feem to carry in them the fuppofition of fucceffive duration; yet fucceffive duration we have generally agreed not to be afcribed to God, although, of any other kind of exiftence, we have not the leaft conception. It is impoffible for me to go through all the different arrangements that have been made by particular authors: I fhall therefore only give you a fuccinct view of the chief differences of divines of different claffes—Calviniſts, Armenians, Socinians.

Calviniſts are divided upon this ſubject into two ſorts, commonly called Supralapſarians and Sublapſarians. The reaſon of the names are from one being of opinion that God in ordaining the elect and reprobate conſidered man as before the fall, and the other as fallen and in a ſtate of guilt.

The firſt ſay that in laying down a plan, what is laſt in the execution is firſt in the intention, that God purpoſed to glorify his mercy and juſtice in the everlaſting felicity of ſome called veſſels of mercy; and in the everlaſting perdition of others called veſſels of wrath. That to accompliſh this purpoſe he reſolved to create the world, to put man in a condition in which he would certainly fall; to ſend the Redeemer in the fullneſs of time to carry on the whole plan of ſalvation, as we now find it in the oracles of truth.

The Sublapſarians ſay, that the order of purpoſing ſhould be the ſame as the order of execution. That the decrees of God being eternal, there can no order of time be applied to them, but that which takes place in the execution. Therefore they ſay that God propoſed to make man innocent and holy, with powers to preſerve his innocence, but liable to fall; that he foreſaw the fall, and permitted it, and from the corrupted maſs freely choſe ſome as the objects of mercy, and left others to periſh in the ruins of their apoſtacy, and that to accompliſh this purpoſe he reſolved to ſend the Saviour, &c.

It is eaſy to ſay ſomething very plauſible on each ſide of the queſtion between the two: it ſeems very ſtrong what Sublapſarians ſay, that the idea of time and order belongs only to the execution: but why do they alſo ſpeak of order, when it is certain that as far as we can clearly ſpeak of deſign or purpoſe at all, the means ſeem to be deſigned for the end, and not the end for the means. The Sublapſarians have alſo this evident advantage of all the reſt that they have the ſovereignty of God *directly*, for what all the reſt are obliged to come to *at last*. It muſt be obſerved that the ſtrongeſt Sublapſarians do conſtantly aſſert the holineſs and juſtice of the divine providence. If you aſk them how they reconcile the divine juſtice with the ab-

ſolute and certain event they confeſs they cannot explain it; but they aſſirm that all that the others ſay to this is perfectly trifling, and leſs reaſonable than their confeſſion of ignorance.

The Arminians ſay that God decreed to create man innocent; and that after he had fallen he reſolved for ſatisfaction to juſtice, to appoint a Saviour; that he decreed to ſave thoſe that ſhould believe and repent; to give to all ſufficient grace for that purpoſe; and finally to ſave and reward thoſe who ſhould endure to the end. It is plain that whatever reaſon they may offer with great plauſibleneſs for ſeveral things when taken in a ſeparate and detached view, nothing can be weaker than the Arminian ſcheme conſidered as a ſyſtem of the divine purpoſe, becauſe they leave out or ſuſpend the purpoſe at every ſtage.

As to the Socinians they do generally deny the reality of the decrees altogether, and ſay that the event is wholly uncertain and ſuſpended upon the will of the creature—as many of them as maintain or admit the foreknowledge of God, do it contrary to their other principles.

If I were to ſay any thing upon this ſubject (I mean the order of the decrees) I would ſay nearly as Pulit, in his ſyſtem as contained in the notes upon Rulet, has ſaid, which is in ſubſtance this, that God reſolved from all eternity to manifeſt his own glory, and illuſtrate his moral excellence, wiſdom, power, holineſs, juſtice, goodneſs and truth, in the production and government of a created ſyſtem. That for this purpoſe the whole ſyſtem, and all the facts of which it conſiſts and their dependence one upon another, and the order itſelf in which they were to take place, were ordained. If the whole, then certainly every particular part as fully as the whole, is the object of one abſolute decree. In this view they are all upon a footing; at the ſame time we do not pretend to diſpute that things are ordained with conſiderable difference; but this difference it is hard or impoſſible for us to explain. There is certainly a difference between the ordination of things natural, and thoſe which are ſinful or holy. The very ſinful diſpoſition, conſidered as becoming a part of the general plan, is certainly as

holy an ordination as any other, yet the ſcripture teaches us to conſider this as a thing quite different from God's determining to ſend his Son into the world to ſave ſinners. It ſeems to be a matter inſiſted on in the ſtrongeſt manner in ſcripture, that the evil or guilt of every creature is to be aſcribed to the creature, as to its proper and adequate cauſe; at the ſame time it ſeems fully as plain that whatever connection there may be between one evil and another, the choice of the veſſels of mercy is free and unconditional, and that the rejection of others is imputed to the ſovereignty of God, Luke 10, 21. John 12, 39. That the choice of the veſſels of mercy is free and ſovereign appears from the words of ſcripture; from their univerſal ſtate—dead in treſpaſſes and ſins; from their viſible character, and from the means of their recovery—I mean the omnipotence of divine grace.

LECTURE XIII.

I NOW proceed to the third thing upon this ſubject, which was to conſider the character, qualities and attributes of the decrees of God, as they are given to them in ſcripture in expreſs terms, or manifeſtly founded upon ſcripture truths, and particularly upon ſuch truths as relate to the decrees. Of this the chief are what follow.

(1) Eternity. We have expreſs mention made, Eph. 3, 11. of Gods eternal purpoſe: and believers are ſaid to be choſen in Chriſt before the foundation of the world. The laſt expreſſion is of the ſame import with the firſt; for whatever is before the beginning of time is to be conſidered as eternal. This indeed is eſſential to the divine purpoſe, inſeparable from the very meaning of the word decree; and if I am not miſtaken one of the chief things we are to be taught by it is, that whatſoever comes to paſs in revolving years, is not looſe but fixed in the divine mind

before time itself began. It is exceeding difficult however, at once to restrain an improper curiosity, and to speak with precision on the subject and with safety. Some have raised a question, whether there is not a necessity of supposing the existence and the nature of God as previous to his decrees. To which it is commonly said, that there is a priority of order, though not of time; a priority like that of the cause to its inseparable effect; as the sun is the cause of light, yet the creation of the sun would not be before or antecedent to the light; they are inseparable and necessarily existent. One would think there was nothing amiss in this way of speaking, or of saying in consequence of it, that the decrees are to God's nature as an eternal effect to an eternal cause; and yet I am afraid there is here what we find in many subjects of theology, a mixture of repugnant ideas intricate and difficult, eternity, and time—beginning, and no beginning. When we speak of an effect of a cause, we cannot do otherwise than think of something produced, some alteration, or something that was not before. This is the case with all the similitudes brought to illustrate it, as the creation of the sun and the co-existence of light, or another made use of by some of the refined Arians, who meant to say the Son is produced by the Father, as an eternal effect of an eternal cause—as the print of a man's foot in the sand is caused by his setting down his foot, but not posterior in point of time. But all this is truely absurd when speaking of God, because it includes some definite idea of what might and did begin to take place. I should be apt to think that one of the chief reasons why any thing is revealed to us concerning the decrees of God, is to give us an awful impression of his infinite majesty, his supreme dominion, and the absolute dependance of every creature upon him; so that it is enough for us to say, that his purpose is before all worlds, antecedent to all time or the idea of succession, being indeed entirely inseparable from the idea of his existence.

(2) The next thing to be considered is the liberty of God in his decrees. They are according to the council of his own will. Almost all the systems say that God did

moſt wiſely, moſt juſtly, and moſt freely, decree whatſoever comes to paſs.

The chief objection to this ariſes from what uſed to be called many years ago the Beltiſtan ſcheme, of which, whatever chance traces may be ſeen in former authors, Leibnitz is the proper author. Of this ſcheme it is the leading part, or rather the foundation of the whole, to ſay that God infinitely wiſe and good muſt neceſſarily chooſe the beſt in every thing. That therefore of all poſſible ſyſtems this which he has choſen, becauſe it has taken place, muſt neceſſarily be the beſt, and he could not chooſe any other; ſo that from the unalterable rectitude of his nature, he is as invariably determined by his neceſſity as any of his creatures. This boaſted demonſtration would be defenſible perhaps, were it not that its very foundations are good for nothing. Its ideas are not applicable to the divine Being; better and beſt are definite terms, and actual compariſons. We ſay a thing is better when it is preferable to ſome others, and beſt when it is a thing abſolutely preferable to all others. Now with what propriety can it be ſaid that in the plans that were poſſible to infinite wiſdom and power there is one beſt. Have we comprehenſion ſufficient to ſee this, and therefore to ſay it? It ſeems to me that a demonſtration might be given to the contrary. The whole ſyſtem of creation is either finite and temporal, or infinite and eternal. If it be finite, it ſeems abſurd to ſay that it would not be made better by being made larger and ſimilar; and if it was not from eternity it might have a been made many thouſands of years ſooner. If on the contrary it be infinite and eternal, the poſſible combinations of an infinite ſyſtem are truly infinite, and there cannot be a beſt. The patrons of this ſcheme when preſſed with theſe difficulties have recourſe to what they ſhould have begun with, the incomprehenſibleneſs of time and ſpace, and ſay that we cannot apply any of the ideas of ſooner or later to enternity, or larger or leſſer to ſpace. The impoſſibility of uniting infinite to definite qualities ſhould have prevented them from ſaying that of all poſſible ſyſtems infinite wiſdom muſt chooſe the beſt; but when we ſpeak of time

and ſpace, nothing is more clear, than that if at any time a thing has exiſted ten years, I can ſuppoſe that it exiſted twenty years; and that if any thing be of finite extent, I can ſuppoſe it enlarged as well as diminiſhed. So great is the obſtinacy of people in adhering to their ſyſtems, that Dr. Clark reduces an antagoniſt to the abſurdity of affirming, that though the univerſe were moved ten millions of leagues in any direction, it would ſtill be in the ſame place; and another writer of ſome note, ſays, either that the thing is impoſſible, that the world could have been created ſooner than it was, or that if it had been created 5000 years ſooner, yet it would have been created at the ſame time. Beſides this ſcheme ſeems to me to labor under two great and obvious difficulties—that the infinite God ſhould ſet limits to himſelf, by the production of a created ſyſtem—It brings creation a great deal too near the creature to ſay it is the alternative of Omnipotence. The other difficulty is, that it ſeems to make ſomething which I do not know how to expreſs otherwiſe, than by the ancient ſtoical fate, antecedent and ſuperior even to God himſelf; I would therefore think it beſt to ſay, with the current of orthodox divines, that God was perfectly free in his purpoſe and providence, and that there is no reaſon to be ſought for the one or the other beyond himſelf.

Let us conſider the wiſdom and ſovereignty of his decrees; I put theſe together, not that they are the ſame, but that they ſeem, though not oppoſite, to limit each other in their exerciſe, and the one of which is often to be reſolved into the other. Wiſdom is aſcribed to the decrees of God; or rather, wiſdom indeed is particularly aſcribed to God himſelf, as one of his eſſential perfections, and therefore by neceſſary conſequence, it muſt belong to his providence in time, and his purpoſes from eternity.—The meaning of this as far as we can conceive, when uſed by us, is that the beſt and nobleſt ends are deſigned, and the beſt and moſt ſuitable means in accompliſhing theſe ends. And indeed all the wiſdom that appears in the works and ways of God when carried into effect, muſt be ſuppoſed in the original purpoſe. But how ſhall we join the ſovereignty with this? Sovereignty ſeems to reſolve the whole

into mere will, and therefore to ſtand oppoſed to the wiſdom of the proceeding; accordingly there are ſome who in ſpeaking of the decrees, reſt them entirely and totally on the ſovereignty of God, and ſay that not only the reaſons are not made known and unſearchable to us, but that there is no reaſon at all of preference of one thing to another, but the divine will. There have been ſome writers who have founded the very nature of virtue and vice upon the divine will. Thoſe who think otherwiſe, uſually ſay, it is making the decrees not abſolute only, but arbitrary—not only unſearchable, but unreaſonable: and indeed the founding every thing upon mere will, ſeems to take away the moral character of the Deity, and to leave us no meaning when we ſay God is infinitely wiſe and holy, juſt and good. I am however inclined to think that thoſe who have gone the furtheſt upon the ſovereignty of God, only meant that we could not or ought not, to dive into the reaſon of the Divine Providence, that his will ought to bound all our enquiries, and be a full and ſatisfactory anſwer to all our difficulties; and if it be taken in this way, it will not be eaſy to overthrow it.

If we look into the ſcripture doctrine upon this ſubject, we ſhall, if I miſtake not, ſee both the wiſdom and ſovereignty of God aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt terms, united together and founded upon one another, Job ix. 4. "he is "wiſe in heart,"—he is ſaid to be God only wiſe, Rev. xvi. 27. 1 Tim. i. 15. Jude 25. Eph. iii. 10. and Rom. xi. 38. ſpeaking expreſsly of the decrees, "O the depth," &c. at the ſame time, the ſovereignty of God is aſſerted, and events reſolved into it, Luke x. 21. "In that hour Jeſus "rejoiced in ſpirit," &c. I would here call your attention to two paſſages, very remarkable; one in the Old Teſtament, the other in the New. The book of Job it is agreed by interpreters, was compoſed expreſsly upon the difficulty of Providence, ariſing from the afflictions of good men, and the proſperity of the wicked; but in that book, after the reaſoning of Job and his friends, when God himſelf is brought in ſpeaking out of the whirlwind, in the 38th and 39th chapters, he ſays not one word, either of the wiſdom or juſtice of his proceedings; but in language

infinitely majeſtic, diſplays and dwells upon the greatneſs of his power.—It is true indeed, the beautiful poetical diſplay of the order of creation, may be ſaid to imply in it wiſdom as well as power; but if ſo, all that is there advanced, is to illuſtrate the power and wiſdom of the Creator, and by that means to impoſe ſilence on the raſh challenges of the creature.

The other example is from the New Teſtament, which the Apoſtle after introducing an objection againſt the divine purpoſe as to the ſtate of man, does not offer any other reaſon, but has recourſe to the ſovereignty of God, Rom. 7, 18, 19, 20. "Therefore it is not of him that "willeth," &c.

It will be perhaps hard or impoſſible for you to enter into this at once, as I confeſs it was to me in early life; but I now ſee more of the neceſſity of ſubjecting ourſelves to the Divine Sovereignty, and making uſe of it to reſtrain and repreſs our raſh and curious enquiries. It is finely imagined in Milton, that he makes a part of the damned in hell to torment themſelves with unſearchable queſtions about fixed fate, foreknowledge abſolute. It is certain that we cannot now fathom thoſe ſubjects—if we ever ſhall to eternity. As I hinted formerly it is of conſiderable uſe to obſerve the analogy there is between the courſe of nature, providence and grace. There are a vaſt number of things in which we muſt needs reſolve the laſt queſtion, ſo to ſpeak, into the ſovereignty of God. Why did God ſee it fit to people this world ſo very thinly? Why does the improvement of human arts proceed ſo very imperfectly? Why is the chief bleſſing that God ever beſtow yet unknown to a vaſt number of the human race? The ſtate of a ſavage tribe and of a cultivated ſociety, how do they differ in the ſame climate? Why was ſo great a part of this vaſt continent for ſo many ages a howling wilderneſs—a dwelling for wild beaſts, and a few human creatures little leſs ſavage than they?—Why is one perſon born into the world a ſlave and another a monarch? Even with regard to morals, which are the ſource of the higheſt dignity and the higheſt happineſs—I could ſuppoſe one born in a great but profligate

family, ſupplied with all the means of indulgence, ſolicited by the worſt examples, and beſet by intereſted flatterers; and I could ſuppoſe another born of pious parents, with the moſt amiable example, the moſt careful inſtruction, the moſt regular government—why are there ſo vaſt advantages given to the one, and ſo hard a trial impoſed on the other? muſt we not ſay "even ſo Father," &c. In temporal and ſpiritual, natural and perſonal circumſtances, there is every where to be ſeen much of the ſovereignty of God.

IV. The next character of God's decrees is that they are juſt, and that they are holy. He is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works; and it is the union of righteouſneſs and holineſs with the moſt unſearchable depth of wiſdom that gives occaſion to the adoration, Rev. 13, 8. "Great and marvellous," &c. nothing can be more manifeſt than that all the calamities which God in his Providence inflicts on earth, and the future judgments which he will inflict on the ungodly, are repreſented as acts of juſtice. The only difficulty or objection that lies in the way of this ariſes from the next particular to which we will therefore proceed, viz.

V. That the decrees of God are fixed abſolute and unchangeable; that which he hath ordained ſhall certainly come to paſs, and nothing can oppoſe it, ſubvert it, or take its place. Here then the difficulty ariſes full upon us, how ſhall we reconcile this with the free agency of the creature, with the guilt of ſin, or the righteouſneſs of the puniſhment of ſin? yet this is affirmed by all ſound divines, as in the confeſſion of faith, chap. 3, ſect. 1. "God from all eternity did by the moſt holy and wiſe counſel of his own will freely and unchangeably ordain whatever comes to paſs; yet ſo as thereby neither is God the author of ſin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creature; nor is the liberty or contingency of ſecond cauſes taken away, but rather eſtabliſhed." This ſubject has exerciſed the reaſon of men in all ages ſo far as it has been propoſed to them, but particularly that of divines. The ſubject is dark and intricate as any body may eaſily perceive.

It is remarkable what weak things ſometimes men of ſenſe will ſay upon ſuch ſubjects, when it ſeems neceſſary to them to ſay ſomething in favor of their own hypotheſis. One writer propoſes to himſelf to reconcile this difference, and ſays God foreſees and predetermines actions in different ways, and each according to its own nature; that he foreſees neceſſary actions as neceſſary, free actions as free, and contingent events as contingent. This is juſt ſaying nothing at all, and it had been better to have ſaid nothing than to have ſaid it. Every body knows that as far as theſe different kinds of actions and events take place in the ſyſtem, they are ſo ordained of God; But it behoved this author to ſhew how any action could be free, or any event contingent upon the ſuppoſition of the Divine Providence or decree.

Others have attempted to ſolve the difficulty by founding the decrees upon foreknowledge, and this upon God's diſtinct and perfect view of every perſon's diſpoſition; and how men will determine in every circumſtance, in which they can be placed. But this is liable to two objections (1) that foreknowledge makes no difference as to decrees, for whether God conſidered the thing as a conſequence of another or not, if he foreſaw the conſequence, he admitted and ordained that event as a part of the general ſyſtem. The other objection is, that it takes for granted the ſyſtem of what is called moral neceſſity, which brings back the ſame difficulty with re-doubled force. It is remarkable that the advocates for neceſſity have adopted a diſtinction made uſe of for other purpoſes, and forced it into their ſervice; I mean moral and natural neceſſity—they ſay natural or phyſical neceſſity takes away liberty, but moral neceſſity does not—at the ſame time they explain moral neceſſity ſo as to make it truly phyſical or natural. That is phyſical neceſſity which is the invincible effect of the law of nature, and it is neither leſs natural nor leſs unſurmountable if it is from the laws of ſpirit, than it would be if it were from the laws of matter. To ſee how ſome people are loſt upon theſe ſubjects, you may obſerve that the great argument that men are determined by the ſtrongeſt motive, is a mere equivocation, and what logicians call *petitio*

principii. It is impoſſible even to produce any medium of proof that it is the ſtrongeſt motive, except that it has prevailed. It is not the greateſt in itſelf, nor does it ſeem to be in all reſpects ſtrongeſt to the agent; but you ſay it appears ſtrongeſt in the mean time—why? Becauſe you were determined by it: alas you promiſed to prove that I was determined by the *strongest motive*, and you have only ſhown that I had *a motive* when I acted. But what has determined you then? can any effect be without a cauſe? I anſwer—ſuppoſing my ſelf-determining power to exiſt, it is as real a cauſe of its proper and diſtinguiſhing effect, as your moral neceſſity; ſo that the matter juſt comes to a ſtand, and is but one and the ſame thing on one ſide and on the other.

But even ſuppoſe the ſyſtem of neceſſity true, the difficulty of reconciling it with the guilt of ſin, and the righteouſneſs of God's judgment, is as great as upon any ſubject whatever. Others have made uſe of a metaphiſical argument to reconcile foreknoledge with liberty. They ſay when any thing is done in time it only ſhews the futurity of the action, as the ſchool men ſay it was a true propoſition from all eternity that ſuch a thing would be done, and every truth being the object of the divine knowledge, God's foreſeeing it was no more the cauſe of it than a man's ſeeing another do a thing at a diſtance is the cauſe of its being done. But even this does not ſatisfy the mind, as the difficulty ariſes from the certainty of the event itſelf, as being inconſiſtent with the freedom of the agent, not the way in which it comes to be known.

It deſerves particular notice that ſeveral able writers have ſhewn, that with reſpect to the moſt difficult part of the decrees of God, all the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtians at bottom ſay the ſame thing, except that claſs of Socinians who deny the omniſcience and foreknowledge of God altogether, and they are ſo directly oppoſite to the letter of ſcripture that they deſerve no regard.—The Arminians ſay, that God has decreed that all that he foreſaw would believe and repent, ſhould be ſaved—for which purpoſe all have ſufficient grace given them. But could not omnipotence have given them effectual grace to overcome their obſtinacy? Yes

without doubt; and are there not ſome that had as obſtinate and profligate natures as thoſe that periſh, overcome by Divine power?—Yes, it is not eaſy to deny this—that he did not give the effectual grace to ſome, and gave it to others. So that they muſt at laſt ſay, "even ſo Father,"&c.

It is more eaſy to ſhew that the Supralapſarians and Sublapſarians are at bottom of the ſame principle. All then have this difficulty before them—to account for the divine purpoſe conſiſtently with the guilt of ſin.

But I would go a little farther and ſay the difficulty is the ſame in natural as it is in revealed religion, and the ſame in the courſe of nature as in both. The certainty of events makes as much againſt common diligence in the affairs of life, as againſt diligence in religion. The fates which the ſtoics of old held, was called the *ignava ratio* of the ſtoics.

For my own part I freely own that I could never ſee any thing ſatisfactory in the attempts of divines or Metaphyſicians to reconcile theſe two things; but it does not appear difficult to me to believe preciſely in the form of our confeſſion of faith—to believe both the certainty of God's purpoſe and the free agency of the creature. Nor does my being unable to explain theſe doctrines form an objection againſt one or the other.

LECTURE XIV.

OF the covenant of works and the fall of man—This ſeems to be the next thing in order.—That I may treat of it as conciſely as poſſible, I will make the following obſervations.

1. It is juſtly and properly by divines, conſidered as a covenant. The word *covenant* is not indeed made uſe of by Moſes in giving the hiſtory of the fall for which ma-

ny reaſons may be aſſigned. The ſcripture does not ſo much limit the phraſe as fix the thing itſelf, which we now expreſs by it. The word covenant is uſed with latitude in ſcripture. Thus, Jer. 33, 20, 25. "Thus ſaith the "Lord if you can break my covenant." &c. It may be obſerved that there muſt of neceſſity be ſome impropriety in calling any tranſaction between God and man a covenant, becauſe it muſt differ conſiderably from an engagement of perſons equal and free. But as far as there can be a covenant relation between God and man, it evidently took place here. The giving a ſpecial command with a threatening annexed does evidently imply in it ſuch a covenant.

2. It ſeems juſt and proper to ſuppoſe that merely abſtaining from the tree of knowledge of good and evil was not the only duty preſcribed and demanded by God, but that the demand extended to univerſal obedience.

The Jewiſh Rabbies ſay, that God gave Adam ſix precepts; (1) to worſhip God; (2) to do juſtice; (3) not to ſhed human blood; (4) not to make uſe of idols or images; (5) not to commit rapine and fraud; (6) to avoid inceſt. But all this is without the leaſt proof.

3. We may conſider the choice of the command for trial, not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This may give occaſion to many conjectures, and likewiſe to many ſolid remarks. It is conjectured by many that the tree had in it a noiſome quality that made the body liable to corruption, as God often orders his commands ſo that obedience to them is of itſelf happineſs, and diſobedience is miſery. If we ſuppoſe the eating this tree had nothing in itſelf either good or evil, and it is aſked why God thought fit to ſuſpend the fate of the human race on a poſitive precept—It may be anſwered, firſt as an act of ſovereignty, to which we have no right to object. (2) It might alſo be more proper for the trial of obedience, as the mere authority of God would be the ſanction. (3) It was a juſt and natural acknowledgment that the creature held all created comforts of God. (4) There were then ſo few relations that there could be no trial upon the precepts of the ſecond table.

4. It appears that Adam in the covenant of works, was to be conſidered as the fœderal head and repreſentative of the human race, as he was then the natural head. By the manner in which the human race was to deſcend from him, the puniſhment inflicted upon him, muſt of courſe deſcend to them. If we ſuppoſe that God might juſtly create an order of beings like to what man is, to deſcend from one another, and to propagate the nature which he had, the matter could not have fallen out otherwiſe in caſe of ſin than it did.

5. Let us conſider the import of the threatening. In "the day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die:" That temporal death was to be underſtood by it, and all the ſufferings preparatory to death, muſt neceſſarily be admitted. That it ſuppoſes alſo ſpiritual death, or the ſeparation of the ſoul from God, is a neceſſary circumſtance in the whole of this matter. The expreſſion, Gen. iii. 22. "Behold the man is become like one of us," &c. is by no means to be taken as if God was afraid they would eat of the tree of life, and hereby become immortal. The greateſt part of interpreters conſider theſe words as ſpoken by way of deriſion, and as it is alſo probable that this tree had much in it of a health-giving quality, it was not proper that men devoted to ſo many ſufferings ſhould be permitted the uſe of it. And as a ſacrament it was to be refuſed to thoſe who had broken the covenant, and were therefore unworthy of the ſign.

Of the Fall.

Before we ſpeak farther of the fall of man by the breach of the Covenant of works, it may be expected that we ſhould conſider a little the introduction of ſin or moral evil in general. Why did God permit ſin and the train of evils that follow it? This has been a queſtion that has exerciſed enquirers from the beginning, and eſpecially under the goſpel. I have treated a little upon this in the diſcourſe upon the decrees and ſhall only further drop a few hints. Some ſay that it was a neceſſary conſequence of creating free agents; but there are many objections to

this. It is neither certain that it was a neceſſary conſequence, nor that there is any ſuch worth in the free agency of the creature as to deſerve to be preſerved, at the price of this evil and its train. Some have ſaid that the evil natural and moral was neceſſary to the perfection of the whole, as the ſhade of a picture to the beauty of the whole piece. This is the ſubſtance of the Beltiſtian ſcheme, the foundation of which I mentioned before with the objections againſt it. I ſhall now only add, that upon this ſyſtem it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe that all the good, natural and moral, that the univerſe could poſſibly admit, is to be found in it. This is exceedingly difficult to believe from appearances, and it is impoſſible to ſupport it without laying God himſelf under the chains of neceſſity. It is certainly infinitely preferable to take ſcripture truths juſt as they ſtand, that God is infinitely holy—has teſtified his abhorrence to ſin —and therefore cannot be the author of it—that he has notwithſtanding moſt juſtly permitted it—and that he will illuſtrate his own glory by it—but that the diſpoſition of his providence and grace is to us unſearchable.

There is mention made in ſcripture of the angels that ſinned; from which it appears that ſin was introduced among them. The ſcriptures have not informed us of many circumſtances on this ſubject, which as uſual, men of fertile inventions have endeavored to ſupply by conjectures, or to determine from very ſlender evidence. Some have even preſumed to determine the number of the fallen Angels, or at leaſt their proportion to thoſe that ſtood, from Rev. 12. 3. 4. "And there appeared another "wonder in heaven, and behold a great red Dragon ha- "ving ſeven heads and ten horns, and ſeven crowns upon "his heads, and his tail drew the third part of the ſtars "of heaven, and did caſt them to the earth." But this is a miſapplication of the paſſage in that prophecy which belongs to the viſible church on earth. Some have ſaid the ſin of the angels was envy—ſome impiety or luſt; but the greater number pride; and this laſt ſeems to have the moſt truth in it, not becauſe we know any thing certain of the circumſtances of their rebellion; but be-

cauſe pride or ſelf-ſufficiency ſeems to be the eſſence or ruling part of all our ſin.

We do not know the time of their fall, nor indeed with much certainty the time of their creation. We only know that their fall was before that of man—and that God paſſed by the Angels that ſinned—and that they are reſerved in chains under darkneſs to the judgment of the great day.

Some have exerciſed themſelves in conjecturing how long our firſt parents continued in the ſtate of innocence. Some ſuppoſe they fell upon the firſt day of their creation. —others that they continued in innocence ſome years. There is nothing ſaid in the book of Geneſis that can determine this point with certainty, nor is it of much moment, could it be determined.

Eve is ſaid to have been tempted by the ſerpent, and by many paſſages of ſcripture it is put beyond a doubt, that it was by the Devil or Prince of the fallen angels. It ought not to be underſtood allegorically. Probably he made uſe of this creature as the fitteſt form in which he could appear. Many have ſuppoſed it was one of the bright fiery ſerpents that are ſeen in Arabia (and ſome parts of the eaſt) and that he appeared to Eve as an angel, which would the more eaſily account for the deception. If this opinion is embraced, we muſt however ſuppoſe that the ſerpent was more glorious before the fall than ſince, in his appearance; and indeed it is probable that moſt or all the creatures were more excellent in their kind, before than after the fall.

But what we are chiefly to attend to, is the conſequence of the fall upon Adam and his poſterity. As to themſelves, they loſt a great part of the image of God, in which they were created. They became the objects of divine diſpleaſure; their eyes were opened, and they felt ſhame for their nakedneſs; were ſtruck with the alarm of an evil conſcience; were driven from the terreſtrial paradiſe; expoſed to many ſufferings which were to end in death; and obliged to labor on the accurſed ground. Some few of the ancients have believed that our firſt parents periſhed eternally; but that has been far from the general belief,

which has been, that as the firſt promiſe was made to them, they underſtood and improved it, and received conſolation by it.

As to the effect of Adam's ſin upon his poſterity, it ſeems very plain that the ſtate of corruption and wickedneſs which men are now in, is ſtated in ſcripture as being the effect and puniſhment of Adam's firſt ſin, upon which it will be ſufficient to read the epiſtle to the Romans, chapter 5, from the 12th verſe and onward. And indeed when we conſider the univerſality of the effects of the fall, it is not to be accounted for any other way, than from Adam's being the fœderal head of the human race, and they ſinning in him and falling with him in his firſt tranſgreſſion.

The firſt and chief of theſe effects is the corruption of our nature—that man now comes into the world in a ſtate of impurity or moral defilement. We will firſt conſider the ſcripture proof of original ſin, and then ſay as far as we have warrant from ſcripture, what it is and the manner of its communication.

I ſhall firſt mention the following paſſages of ſcripture, Gen. 5, 6, and 21. "And God ſaw," &c. Pſalm 37, 5. "Behold I was ſhapen in iniquity," &c. John 3, 6. "That which is born," &c. Rom. 8, 7, 8. Eph. 2, 3. "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as "others."

After conſidering the above paſſages let me obſerve to you that in this as in moſt ſubjects, the general ſtrain of the ſcripture is fully as convincing as particular paſſages. The univerſal command of making atonement—Children receiving the badge of the covenant—the tenor of the promiſes, I will take away the ſtony heart out of your fleſh—"the force of the Pſalmiſt David's prayer, "create within me a clean heart,"—and many others of the ſame import; but above all this doctrine of our Saviour, John 3, 3. "Verily, verily," &c. To all this you may add experience. The univerſal and early corruption of men in practice is a ſtanding evidence of the impurity of their original.

What is the hiſtory of the world but the hiſtory of human guilt? and do not children from the firſt dawn of reaſon ſhow, that they are wiſe to do evil; but to do good they have no knowledge!

As to the nature of original ſin and the tranſmiſſion of it, I think a few words may ſuffice. We certainly diſcover in mankind, not only a diſpoſition without reſtraint to commit errors of a groſs nature, but in general an attachment to, and love of the creature more than the Creator. It may not be improper here to conſider the queſtion, whether the whole nature is corrupt, ſo that whatever we do is ſin. It will be, I think very eaſy to ſettle this point, if the meaning of the enquiry be clearly underſtood. If the ſupreme deſire of the mind, and leading principle be wrong, then every thing that is directed by it muſt have the nature of ſin.

Thoſe who repreſent it in this light, do by no means aſſert that every act in every part of it is evil. Such as to ſpeak truth—to do juſtice—to ſhew mercy, which certainly an unholy man may do. Nay I ſuppoſe even the greateſt ſinner that ever was ſpeaks twenty true words, where he ſpeaks one that is falſe. But what is meant to be aſſerted is, that every action of an unregenerate man is eſſentially defective as a moral duty, becauſe flowing from a wrong principle, and tending to a wrong end. Let us ſuppoſe a man inflexibly ſober and temperate from a concern for his health or a covetous deſire of ſparing his money, and one ſhould ſay there is no true virtue in this. It would be ridiculous to ſay that we affirmed that ſobriety was not a virtue, or that the perſon concerned ſinned in being ſober. This will appear by expreſſing the ſentiment in another form. Every body would underſtand and approve it, if we ſhould ſay there is no virtue at all in that miſer who ſtarves his belly, or clothes himſelf with rags, only to fill his purſe.

As to the tranſmiſſion of original ſin, the queſtion is to be ſure difficult, and we ought to be reſerved upon the ſubject. St. Auguſtine ſaid it was of more conſequence to know how we are delivered from ſin by Chriſt, than how we derive it from Adam. Yet we ſhall ſay a few

words on this topic. It ſeems to be agreed by the greateſt part that the ſoul is not derived from our parents by natural generation, and yet it ſeems not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the ſoul is created impure. Therefore it ſhould follow that a general corruption is communicated by the body, and that there is ſo cloſe a union between the ſoul and body that the impreſſions conveyed to us through the bodily organs, do tend to attach the affections of the ſoul to things earthly and ſenſible. If it ſhould be ſaid, that the ſoul on this ſuppoſition muſt be united to the body as an act of puniſhment or ſeverity: I would anſwer, that the ſoul is united to the body in conſequence of an act of government, by which the Creator decreed, that men ſhould be propagated by way of natural generation. And many have ſuppoſed that the ſouls of all men that ever ſhall be, were created at the beginning of the world, and gradually came to the exerciſe of their powers, as the bodies came into exiſtence, to which they belong.

LECTURE XV.

OF Sin in general and its demerit; and of actual ſin, and its ſeveral diviſions.

Of ſin in general, and moral evil, we may obſerve, that the ſcripture uniformly repreſents it to us in the moſt odious light. Of God it is ſaid "he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity." It is ſaid to be that which his ſoul hates. To grieve him—to diſhonor him—and to provoke his wrath. And though we muſt exclude from our minds, every thing in theſe frequent expreſſions that belong to human paſſions or wickedneſs, the juſt and legitimate inference to be drawn from it is the great and unſpeakable evil of ſin.

As the evil of ſin appears from every page of the ſacred oracles; ſo it alſo appears in the cleareſt manner from its effects, and the miſery that follows it. All natural evils are the fruits of ſin—all the ſufferings in the valley of terror ſhoot from it; and if we lay down the righteouſneſs of Providence, as a principle, Dr. Butler has ſhewn in his analogy, that the puniſhment, and therefore the guilt of ſin is very great—that ſometimes very great and laſting ſufferings are the conſequence of acts, one would think not the moſt atrocious. The contagion of ſin—The rage of violent paſſion—And the terror of conſcience in ſome inſtances, all tend to prove the evil of ſin.

One can ſcarcely have a clearer idea of the evil of ſin, than by comparing the effects of piety and virtue, ſo far as our own experience has enabled us to form an idea of them; with the effects of univerſal corruption and depravity in any ſociety.

Here perhaps it may be proper, juſt to mention the queſtion, whether it is proper to ſay there is an infinite evil in ſin? I would anſwer it thus, there is not a ſingle argument againſt it; only this, that the actions done in time by a finite creature cannot have in them an infinite evil; but this is not the thing denied: for all the ſyſtems with one voice ſay, that it is not infinite in all reſpects, otherwiſe all ſins would be equal, which indeed it is ſaid that the ſtoics anciently have held. But as far as there can be meaning to us in the expreſſion, it muſt be proper to ſay the evil of ſin is infinite: not only becauſe when we conſider the ſeveral particulars that illuſtrate the evil of it, we ſee no end to them, but becauſe ſin is properly an oppoſition to the nature, and tranſgreſſion of the law of God. Now his nature being infinitely excellent, and the obligation on us ariſing from his infinite perfections in himſelf, his full property in, and abſolute dominion over us; I reckon that there muſt be the very ſame juſtice and propriety in ſaying that there is an infinite evil in ſin, as an infinite goodneſs in God.

Sin is explained in general in our Chatechiſm, to be a want of conformity unto, or tranſgreſſion of the law of God. In this definition of ſin it is divided into ſins of

omiſſion or commiſſion. The law of God is a perfect rule, and every deviation from it is ſin, whether in the matter of the duty or principle from which it ought to flow. An action to be truly good, muſt be compleat in all reſpect. Hence ſome obſerve that actions truly good are equally good, becauſe they are perfect, they compleatly fulfil the law, and are performed at the very time when it was required. But ſins are not equally evil, ſome are very much aggravated in compariſon of others from many circumſtances eaſy to imagine--Let one juſt conſider the diſtinction of ſins, with a remark or two upon each. (1) Sins of omiſſion and commiſſion. We are not to ſuppoſe that ſins of omiſſion are conſtantly, and by their nature, leſs henious than ſins of commiſſion. There are ſome duties ſo important, and the obligation to which are ſo ſtrong and manifeſt, that the omiſſion of them is an offence as much aggravated as any that can be named, and much more ſo than ſome ſins of commiſſion. A total and habitual neglect of God's worſhip is certainly much more criminal than ſome raſh injurious expreſſions which are ſins of commiſſion. (2) Sins voluntary and involuntary. All ſins may be ſaid to be in ſome ſenſe voluntary, as lying properly in the diſpoſition of the heart and will. Some are of opinion that original ſin itſelf is voluntary, the corrupt bias from the corrupted frame not taking away the liberty neceſſary to moral action, and the ſin lying in the conſent given to the ſolicitation. It is however certain that all actual ſin ſhould be conſidered as voluntary, being ſo in its nature. But ſome ſins are ſaid to be involuntary, when they are from inattention, and ſometimes when they are the effect of long habit, ſo that they are done without deliberation and without reflection.—Theſe are not any way excuſable on that account; becauſe that want of attention is a very great ſin, and the power of habit has been contracted by acts of wickedneſs.

3. There are ſome ſins of ignorance, ſome againſt light—light in general is an aggravation of ſin. Ignorance, total and invincible, takes away all ſin—But, ignorance may often be eaſily prevented; and ſometimes

ignorance may be ſo circumſtanced as to aggravate ſin, as when it ariſes from an averſion and hatred to the light. This is nearly connected with the opinion of the innocence of error. There are great numbers who will needs have it, that error in judgment cannot be criminal, if the perſon is ſincerely of that opinion which he profeſſes or avows. This is called by biſhop Warburton, the maſter prejudice of this age. But it is plain that error muſt juſt be conſidered as ignorance. To ſay that a perſon miſtakes his duty with perfect innocence, is to ſuppoſe God has not given ſufficient means of diſcovering and diſtinguiſhing truth from falſehood.

There are ſeveral other diviſions of ſins that may be introduced; ſuch as ſins in thought, in word and deed. Filthineſs of the fleſh and of the ſpirit; occaſional and reigning ſins: but as they have little difficulty in them, ſo the explanation of them is no way neceſſary to the explaining evangelical truth; for which reaſon I will not diſcuſs them.

There are ſome maxims in eſtimating the morality of actions, that, though generally admitted, carry ſome difficulty in them, when applied univerſally; as for example—that a ſin is the more highly aggravated when it is committed with little temptation; and that a virtuous action is more laudable, when it overcomes the greateſt temptations. If we extend this to inward, as well as outward temptation, which is commonly done; it ſeems to take much from the merit of true holineſs in eminent ſaints, and to annihilate altogether the excellency of the Divine holineſs. The maxim muſt therefore, either be a miſtake, or miſapplied. One of the contraries that flow from it, is certainly true, viz. that an action is not praiſeworthy, in proportion as the contrary is vicious. It is one of the higheſt degrees of vice to be without natural affection, and to neglect the common care of family and relations; but to take care of them, has but very little that is praiſe worthy in it. Whenever we find difficulty in theſe things it is but reaſoning them up to the queſtion of liberty and neceſſity, the dependance and activity of the creature, where we ſhould always ſtop ſhort, as being above our comprehenſion.

There is one thing very remarkable, that in the ſcriptures, the ſin of our nature is always adduced as an aggravation of our guilt; but looſe perſons in principle and in practice, are apt to produce it as an extenuation of the actual tranſgreſſion which proceeds from it. Nor, I believe, is there any way by which men can be taken off from ſuch views, but by a thorough work of conviction, and the power of Divine grace. Therefore a miniſter of great piety and judgment once ſaid to me, "No man will cordially believe the doctrine of ſalvation by grace, contained in our Catechiſm and confeſſion, unleſs he is born of God."

I can ſhew by reaſon that the fall of man, and the corruption of our nature is contained in the ſcripture.—I can ſhew that it is entirely correſpondent with the courſe of nature and the ſyſtem of Providence. But we need hardly expect that it will be received and approved till the pride of the heart is brought down, and the ſinner laid at the foot-ſtool of divine mercy.

Another remark I ſhall make, and this alſo borrowed from a friend, that every error or departure from the truth might be traced back to a want of conviction, and not having a due ſenſe, of the evil of ſin. Notwithſtanding all the boaſt of concern for moral virtue, and the repeated objection that the doctrine of ſalvation by grace leads to licentiouſneſs, and favors immorality, it is an unhumbled ſpirit that makes ſuch perſons oppoſe the truth. Self-righteouſneſs is eaſily traced back to this—all the merit of works may be reduced to it—had ſuch perſons a proper ſenſe of the extent and ſpirituality of the law of God, they would never think of truſting in themſelves that they are righteous: and did they feel the obligation upon every intelligent creature, ſupremely to honor the living and true God, they would ſee the evil of refuſing it; but would never think of pleading any merit from an imperfect performance of that which is ſo perfectly due.

In the laſt place, as to the inability of man to recover himſelf by his own power, though I would never attempt to eſtabliſh a metaphyſical ſyſtem of neceſſity, of which infidels avail themſelves in oppoſition to all religion, nor

preſume to explain the influence of the Creator on the creature; yet nothing is more plain from ſcripture or better ſupported by daily experience, than that man by nature is in fact incapable of recovering without the power of God ſpecially interpoſed. I will not call it a neceſſity ariſing from the irreſiſtible laws of nature. I ſee it is not a neceſſity of the ſame kind as conſtraint; but I ſee it an impoſſibility ſuch as the ſinner never does overcome. A late author in Scotland thinks he has diſcovered the great wheel that connects the human ſyſtem with the univerſal kingdom of God: that this race of creatures were ſuffered or ordained to come into exiſtence to be a ſtanding monument to all other intelligences through the univerſe, that a rational creature once departing from his allegiance to his Creator, never could again recover it, but by his own Almighty power and ſovereign grace.

LECTURE XVI.

Of the Covenant of Grace.

WE come now to ſpeak of the Covenant of Grace. This, taking it in a large ſenſe, may be ſaid to comprehend the whole plan of ſalvation through Jeſus Chriſt. I am not to mention every thing that belongs to this ſubject; but before entering directly into the conſtitution of the covenant of grace, it will be proper to ſpeak a little of the doctrine of ſatisfaction for the guilt of a creature.

As to the firſt of theſe. Was ſatisfaction or ſome atonement neceſſary? would it have been inconſiſtent with divine juſtice to have pardoned ſinners without it? might not the ſovereignty and mercy of God have diſpenſed with the puniſhment of ſin, both in the ſinner and in the ſure-

ty ? The agitation of this queſtion, and the zeal that is ſhewn by ſome upon it, I cannot help ſaying, ſeems to ariſe from an inward averſion to the truth itſelf of the ſatisfaction, and the conſequences that follow from it. What does it ſignify, though any one ſhould admit that God by his ſovereignty might have diſpenſed with demanding ſatisfaction, if notwithſtanding it appears in fact that he has demanded and exacted it ? "that without ſhedding of blood there is no remiſſion," and "that there is no other name," &c. Whether it has been ſo ordained, becauſe to have done otherwiſe would have been inconſiſtent with the divine perfections, or becauſe ſo it ſeemed good unto God, ſeems at leaſt an unneceſſary if not an indecent queſtion. We have an infinite concern in what God has done, but none at all in what he might have done. On what is really difficult upon this ſubject, we may however make the few following remarks.

(1.) From its actually taking place as the will of God, we have good reaſon to ſay it was the wiſeſt and beſt ; the rather that we find many of the higheſt encomiums on the Divine perfections, as ſhewing in this great diſpenſation his power, wiſdom, mercy and juſtice. His wiſdom in a particular manner is often celebrated, Eph. 3. 10. Rom. 11. 33. At the ſame time it is proper to obſerve the harmony of the divine attributes: that the juſtice of God appears more awful in the ſufferings of Chriſt than if the whole human race had been devoted to perdition ; and his mercy more aſtoniſhing and more amiable in the gift of his Son, than it could have been in the total remiſſion of all ſin without any ſatisfaction, had it been poſſible.

There is a particular proof of the neceſſity of ſatisfaction that ariſes from the death of Chriſt, conſidered as intimately united with the Divine nature, which it has been already proved that he poſſeſſed. Can we ſuppoſe that ſuch a meaſure would have been taken, if it had not been neceſſary ? Can we ſuppoſe that the eternal Son of God would have humbled himſelf thus, and been expoſed to ſuch a degree of temptation, and ſuch amazing ſufferings, if it had not been neceſſary ?

3. All the accounts given us in ſcripture of the nature of God, his perfections and government confirm this ſuppoſition. The infinite juſtice and holineſs of his nature are often mentioned in ſcripture; that he hates ſin, and cannot look upon it but with abhorrence, and particularly that he will by no means ſpare the guilty. It is ſometimes objected here, that juſtice differs from other attributes; and that its claims may be remitted, being due only to the perſon offended. But this which applies in part to man, cannot at all be applied to God. I ſay it applies in part to man, becauſe a matter of private right, independent of the public good, he may eaſily paſs by. But it is not ſo with magiſtrates or public perſons, nor even with private perſons, when they take in the conſideration of the whole. Beſides, when we conſider the controverſy about the juſtice of God and what it implies, we ſhall ſee the greateſt reaſon to ſuppoſe what is called his vindictive juſtice, viz. a diſpoſition to puniſh ſin, becauſe it truly merits it, even independently of any conſequence of the puniſhment, either for the reformation of the perſon, or as an example to others. The idea of juſtice and guilt carries this in it, and if it did not there would be an apparent iniquity in puniſhing any perſon for a purpoſe different from his own good.

II. The ſecond queſtion upon the ſatisfaction is, whether it was juſt and proper to admit the ſubſtitution of an innocent perſon in the room of the guilty. This is what the Socinians combat with all their might. They ſay it is contrary to juſtice to puniſh an innocent perſon; that God muſt always treat things as they really are, and therefore can never reckon it any proper atonement for ſin to puniſh one that never committed any ſin. Before I ſtate the reaſoning in ſupport of this fundamental doctrine of the goſpel, I will firſt briefly point out the qualifications neceſſary in ſuch a ſubſtitution. (1) The ſecurity undertaking muſt be willing; it would certainly be contrary to juſtice to lay a puniſhment upon an innocent perſon without his conſent. (2) He muſt be free and independent having a right over his own life, ſo that he is not accountable to any other for the diſpoſal of it. (3) The perſon

having the demand muſt be ſatisfied and contented with the ſubſtitution, inſtead of perſonal puniſhment. (4) That the ſurety be truly able to make ſatisfaction in full. (5) That it be in all reſpects as uſeful, and that the ſufferer be not loſt to the public. (6) Some add that he be related and of the ſame nature with the guilty. This is generally added from the conſtitution of Chriſt's perſon, and in that inſtance ſurely has a great degree of ſuitableneſs, but does not ſeem to me to be ſo neceſſary as the other particulars for eſtabliſhing the general principle.

Now ſuppoſing all theſe circumſtances, vicarious ſatisfaction for ſin ſeems to me eaſily and perfectly juſtifiable: to make this appear, attend to the three following obſervations.

(1) There is nothing in it at all contrary to juſtice. If any innocent perſon were puniſhed againſt his will, or laid under a neceſſity of ſuffering for the cauſe of another, it would evidently be repugnant to the idea of juſtice. But when it is done, as by the ſuppoſition, willingly and freely, injuſtice is wholly excluded. If we could indeed ſuppoſe ignorance and raſhneſs in the undertaking, ſo that he conſented to what he did not underſtand, there would be injuſtice, but this alſo is wholly excluded in the caſe before us.

(2) There is nothing in it contrary to utility, becauſe it has preciſely the ſame effect in demonſtrating the evil of ſin in the one caſe as in the other. In any human government it certainly ſerves as much to ratify the law, and in many caſes the exacting the debt with rigor of a ſurety is a more awful ſanction to the law, than even the ſatisfaction of the offending party. We have not in all hiſtory I think, an inſtance of this kind ſo ſtriking as the lawgiver of the Lorrians who had made a law, that adultery ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of both the eyes. His own ſon was ſhortly after convicted of the crime; and to fulfill the law, he ſuffered one of his own eyes to be put out, and one of his Son's. Every body muſt perceive that ſuch an example was a greater terror to others than if the law had been literally inflicted on the offender. After having mentioned theſe two particulars, I

obſerve that the thing is in a moſt preciſe and exact manner laid down in ſcripture. It is impoſſible to invent expreſſions, that are either more ſtrong or more definite than are there to be found. It is an obſervation of ſome of the Socinian writers that the word ſatisfaction is not to be found in ſcripture, and in this they often triumph: but nothing can be more ridiculous, for ſatisfaction is a modern term of art, and unknown in that ſenſe to antiquity. But can there be any thing more plain than that it is intended to expreſs the very meaning ſo fully, and ſo variouſly expreſſed both in the ſcriptures and the heathen writers. The word in the Old Teſtament moſt frequently uſed is, atoning, making atonement for ſin or for the ſoul. What could be more plain than not only the great day of atonement, but the daily ſacrifice, in which certain men were appointed to repreſent the people of Iſrael and lay their hands on the head of the devoted beaſt; and confeſs the ſins of the people, which had not any other intelligible meaning than the transferring the guilt from the ſinner to the victim. The ſprinkling the blood in the Old Teſtament upon the horns of the altar, whence by alluſion the blood of Chriſt is called the blood of ſprinkling, carries this truth in it, in the plaineſt manner—and the prophecies of Iſaiah, chap. 53. 5. "he was "wounded for our tranſgreſſion," &c. "When he ſhall give his ſoul an offering for ſin." But were there the leaſt obſcurity in the type, the truth as ſtated in the New Teſtament, would put the matter out of all doubt. The expreſſions are ſo many that we cannot, and we need not enumerate them all—"redeemed—bought with a price —redeemed not with corruptible things, as ſilver or gold, but with the precious blood of Chriſt—This is my blood ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſins—he gave himſelf a ranſom for all—unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his own blood."

I would juſt add here, that as by the conſtitution of our nature, and our being made to deſcend in a certain ſucceſſion by natural generation, there is a communication of guilt and impurity from Adam; ſo we have in human ſociety, and indeed inſeparable from it, the idea of com-

munication by natural relation of honor and ſhame, happineſs and miſery, as well as the cleareſt notion of voluntary ſubſtitution. We ſee that the worth and eminent qualities of any perſon, give luſtre and dignity to his poſterity; and wickedneſs or baſeneſs does juſt the contrary. We ſee that men may eaſily, and do neceſſarily, receive much pleaſure from the happineſs of their relations, and miſery in ſympathy with their ſuffering. And as to voluntary ſubſtitution, it is as familiar to us, as any tranſaction in ſocial life. It is true there are not many inſtances of men's being bound in their life for one another; for which ſeveral good reaſons may be aſſigned. There are not many men of ſuch exalted generoſity as to be willing to forfeit life for life; it is rarely that this would be a proper or adequate ſatisfaction to the law; and it would not be the intereſt of human ſociety, commonly to receive it. Yet the thing is far from being inhuman or unpractiſed—There are ſome inſtances in ancient times, in which men have procured liberty for their friends, by being confined in their room. And both in ancient and modern times, hoſtages delivered by nations, or public ſocieties, are obliged to abide the puniſhment due to their conſtituents.

(3.) The third queſtion on the ſubject of ſatisfaction is, Whether it was neceſſary that the redeemer or mediator ſhould be a divine perſon? It may be aſked, whether an angel of the higheſt order, who was perfectly innocent, might not have made ſatisfaction for the ſins of men? Perhaps this is one of the many queſtions in theology, that are unneceſſary or improper. It is ſufficient to ſay that it appears either to have been neceſſary or beſt, that one truly divine ſhould make ſatisfaction for ſin, ſince it has been ordained of God, who does nothing unneceſſary.

But beſides this, it ſeems to be conſonant to other parts of revealed religion, particularly the infinite evil of ſin as committed againſt God, for which no finite being ſeems ſufficient to atone. To which we may add, that all finite, dependant, created beings are under ſuch obligations themſelves, that it is not eaſy to ſee what they can do in obedience to the will of God, which can have any merit in it, or which they would not be obliged to do for the purpoſe of his glory at

any time; neither does any created being ſeem ſo much his own maſter, as to enter into any ſuch undertaking.

There is an objection made to this doctrine, ſometimes to the following purpoſe. How could the ſecond perſon of the ever bleſſed Trinity be ſaid to make ſatisfaction? Was he not equally offended with the other? Could he make ſatisfaction to himſelf? But this objection is eaſily ſolved, for not to mention that we cannot transfer with ſafety every thing human to God, the thing in queſtion is by no means unknown in human affairs. Though for the payment of a debt on which the creditor inſiſts, it would be ridiculous to ſay he might pay himſelf; yet in the character of a magiſtrate ſitting to judge a criminal where he repreſents the public, it is no way unſuitable for him to put off the public perſon, and ſatisfy the demands of juſtice, and preſerve the honor of the law.

Here I would conclude by juſt obſerving, that there is no neceſſity of a ſurety's doing juſt the ſame thing in kind that the guilty perſon was bound to do. The character and dignity of the ſurety may operate ſo far as to produce the legal effect, and make the ſatisfaction proper for giving its due honor to the law. Thus in the ſufferings of Chriſt, the infinite value of the ſufferer's perſon, makes the ſufferings to be conſidered as a juſt equivalent to the eternal ſufferings of a finite creature.

LECTURE XVII.

LET us proceed to the conſtitution of the covenant, and you may obſerve that there is ſome difference among orthodox divines as to the way of ſtating the parties and the terms of the covenant of grace. There ſeems to be mention made in ſcripture of a covenant or agreement between the Father and the Son. This the generality of Calvi-

niſt divines conſider as a ſeparate or preparatory contract, and call it the covenant of redemption. Some however, eſpecially thoſe who have been termed Antinomians, conſider this as properly the covenant of grace made with Chriſt the ſecond Adam, as repreſenting his ſpiritual ſeed; and the covenant ſaid to be made with believers to be only the execution or adminiſtration of that covenant, and therefore called a teſtament, being the fruits of Chriſt's death, or ratified by the death of the teſtator. According to the different ways of viewing this matter, they expreſs themſelves differently. The firſt ſaying that the condition of the covenant of grace is faith in Jeſus Chriſt; and the other ſaying it is the righteouſneſs of Chriſt. I do not apprehend there need be any difference between thoſe now mentioned, and I obſerve Mr. Williſon in his chatechiſm takes it both ways. I ſhall firſt very ſhortly ſhew you from ſcripture that there is plainly mention made of a covenant, or a tranſaction between the Father and the Son, which if diſtinct from the covenant of grace may be properly enough called the covenant of redemption.

There are many promiſes made directly to the mediator reſpecting this matter Pſ. 2. 6. "I declare the de-"cree," &c. Iſa. 5. 3. 10. "When he ſhall make his "ſoul," &c. Iſa. 41. 1. 6. 7. "Behold my ſervant whom "I uphold; mine elect in whom my ſoul delighteth, I "have put my ſpirit upon him, he ſhall bring forth judg-"ment to the Gentiles. I the Lord have called thee in "righteouſneſs and will hold thine hand, and will keep "thee and give thee for a Covenant of the people, for light "of the Gentiles, Zech. 6. 13. "And the council of peace "ſhall be between them both." I only further mention Pſ. 40. 6, 7, 8. "Sacrifice and offering thou didſt not "deſire," &c. The truth is, that not only the Socinians who are enemies to the ſatisfaction of Chriſt, but even the Arminians decline the admiſſion of this truth, and attempt to explain away the above texts; yet ſomething equivalent to it is neceſſarily conſequent upon Chriſt's undertaking. When he was conſtituted mediator by the Divine decree, he muſt have aſſented to it, and freely undertaken the im-

portant charge. It is alſo evidently the ſpirit of the New Teſtament diſpenſation that the hope and ſtrength of believers are in Chriſt. He is ſaid to have aſcended up on high and received gifts for men, and of his fullneſs, we are ſaid by the apoſtle John to receive grace for grace.

But the Covenant of grace is ſaid to be more frequently made with men, with the houſe of Iſrael, with the choſen of God, with his people. It is a compact or agreement between God and elect ſinners to give freely and of mere mercy Chriſt to die for them, and with him a pardon of ſin and a right to everlaſting life, together with the Spirit of ſanctification to make them meet for it; all which the believer receives and accepts in the manner in which it is offered and reſts his eternal ſtate upon it. This tranſaction has many different titles given it in ſcripture. It is called the *Covenant of Grace* which is properly the Theological term—*a covenant*, becauſe it is often called ſo in the Old Teſtament and in the New, and *of Grace* becauſe it is ſo often repeated in both—that Salvation is of grace, and particularly in order to ſtate the oppoſition between it; the Covenant of works. It is alſo called a covenant of peace, and that with a double view; to diſtinguiſh it from the covenant of works, and from the covenant on Sinai at the giving the law. It is called likewiſe an everlaſting covenant, to diſtinguiſh it from any temporary covenant—It is alſo called the *promiſe*, and the promiſe made of GOD unto our fathers.

In what I ſhall further offer upon it, it is my deſign (1.) To conſider the conſtitution of the covenant in its promiſes and conditions. (2.) The various diſpenſations of it and their relations to one another. (3.) In what manner the goſpel is to be preached agreeably to it, and what views of things are contrary to it.

As to the conſtitution of the covenant, you ſee the firſt and leading idea of it is, free and unmerited mercy—that ſinners had deſerved to periſh—that divine juſtice pronounced their condemnation. This muſt lie at the foundation of the whole.—It was for this reaſon that a mediator was provided, and the ſaviour is offered by God himſelf, as the fruit of his love, John iii. 16. "God ſo loved

" the world," &c. The freeneſs of ſalvation in the goſpel is largely inſiſted on, and proved by the apoſtle in his epiſtle to the Romans, and particularly chap. iv. 16. ſpeaking of the covenant under the title of the law of faith, he ſays, " therefore it is of faith, that it might be of grace." This covenant is eſtabliſhed by a mediator, for every bleſſing comes to believers through Chriſt, and for his ſake, who is made unto us, wiſdom and righteouſneſs, ſanctification and redemption. The promiſes of the covenant of grace, may be taken in either view, more generally, or more particularly.—In general, it procures deliverance from the wrath of God, and from every part of the curſe of a broken law. Some alſo diſtinguiſh the promiſes generally, into grace and glory,—peace with God, holineſs on earth, and the enjoyment of God at laſt. But that I may ſtate them in the way moſt proper for preaching the goſpel, and carrying the meſſage of peace, I ſhall enumerate them in the following order :—

(1.) The covenant promiſes Chriſt the mediator to make ſatisfaction to divine juſtice, by his ſufferings and death. He was the promiſe made of God unto the fathers, and under the obſcurity of the ancient diſpenſation, he was the hope of Iſrael, and the deſire of all nations; and when he was come into the world, he was called the Lord's Chriſt, and the ſalvation of God. So Simeon expreſſed himſelf, " Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervant de- " part in peace," &c. And as the Redeemer appeared firſt as the object of faith to the ancient patriarchs, ſo to convinced ſinners under the goſpel, a ſaviour is the firſt ground of conſolation.

(2.) The covenant promiſes the full and free pardon of all ſin through Chriſt, John i. 16. Iſa. lv. 1. The forgiveneſs of ſins is the doctrine which Chriſt commanded his diſciples to preach to all nations, beginning at Jeruſalem, 1 Tim. i. 15. " This is a faithful ſaying," &c. The univerſality of the offer of mercy, is what particularly diſtinguiſhes it, Matth. xi. 28. " Come unto me—and him that " cometh, I will in no wiſe caſt out." &c. This ſeems to be indeed the preliminary mercy, that opens the way to every other, and it was on this view that the goſpel was

preached to the humbled and needy, Luke iv. 18. "The "spirit of the Lord is upon me," &c.

(3.) The covenant promises the spirit of sanctification to renew our nature, and form us for the service of God, Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. Jer. xxxii. 40. "And I will make an "everlasting covenant with them," &c. Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, 27. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. It is with a view to this, that we are told Acts v. 31. "That Christ was exalted," &c. I need not multiply passages to this purpose, for it is the constant testimony of the scriptures, that any gracious disposition in believers, is the work of God's holy Spirit, and therefore are they called the fruit of the Spirit. It is not only the bringing sinners again to God by repentance that is considered as the work of God's Spirit, but the continuance and increase of sanctification as attributed to their being an habitation of God through the Spirit; "I will live in them and walk "in them," &c.

(4.) The covenant promises the favor of God, and all its happy fruits, while in this life, 2 Cor. xvii. 18. "Where- "fore come out from among them, and be ye separate, "saith the Lord," &c. I need not here mention the particulars that fall under this head—deliverance from temptations—support under sufferings—the sanctified use of sufferings; because we are in one word assured that "all things shall work together for good to them that love God," and 1 Cor. iii. 22. "For all things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos," &c.

(5.) In the last place, the covenant promises eternal life. We cannot say what would have been the fullness of that life, which belonged to the first covenant; but it seems to be generally agreed, that the promise of a glorious immortality, contained in the gospel, is much greater, and more valuable, than that which was lost by the fall. Life and immortality are said to be brought to light by the gospel; and our Saviour is said to have entered into the holiest of all, as the first fruits of them that slept, and to have gone to prepare a place for them, that where he is, there they may be also.

Let us now ſpeak of the conditions of the covenant of grace. As I hinted before, thoſe who make the covenant of grace, and covenant of redemption the ſame thing, ſay, the condition is Chriſt's perfect merit and obedience. Neither indeed is there any thing elſe that can be called the meritorious condition. Thoſe who ſay that the covenant of grace was made with man, ſay that the condition is faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And it is undoubtedly true, that faith intereſts us in Chriſt, and brings really in the bond of the covenant. Faith alone brings us to it; for any thing elſe that might be conſidered as a condition is only a promiſe of what God will do for his people. But to ſtate this matter as clearly as I am able, whether there are conditions or not, or what are the conditions of the covenant of grace, depends entirely on the ſenſe in which we take the word condition. If we take it as implying proper merit or the plea or claim in juſtice for obtaining the promiſes, nothing can be plainer, than that there is not, and cannot be of this kind any condition, but the voluntary, perfect, meritorious obedience of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. If we take it as ſignifying any particular duty or performance, as the term on which the promiſe is ſuſpended, as in the firſt covenant abſtaining from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, it can ſcarcely be ſaid with propriety, that it has a condition; for the tenor of the covenant in its promiſing part is ſuch, that every thing of this kind is promiſed as the work of God. Therefore many divines have aſſerted, that the goſpel, ſtrictly ſo called, has no condition, but conſiſts wholly of free and gracious promiſes. (See this matter well ſtated in Witſius' Economy of the Covenant.) It is for this reaſon, that it is often called a teſtament, even where we have it tranſlated covenant.

But if condition is taken to ſignify a character, qualification, or what is neceſſary to fit us for everlaſting life, then faith, repentance, new obedience, and final perſeverance, are all conditions, but very improperly ſo called. Indeed in this ſenſe the covenant of grace has as many conditions as the law has duties. Yet even in this view we are carefully to obſerve that there is a difference in the conſtitution of the covenant of grace between faith

in the blood of the atonement, and its fruits, the various graces of the chriſtian life. For as the promiſes of the covenant contain not only the free pardon of ſin for Chriſt's ſake, as well as the ſpirit of ſanctification, faith is the immediate inſtrument for receiving or laying hold of this mercy. If there is to man (properly ſpeaking) a condition of the covenant, it muſt be faith, becauſe this, renouncing all ſelf-dependance, accepts and cloſes with the promiſe of recovery and ſalvation juſt in the manner in which it is offered freely, without money, and without price. It is plainly ſtated in this manner in the Epiſtle to the Romans. "Therefore it is by faith that it may be by grace." "To him that worketh is the reward "not reckoned of grace, but of debt; but to him that work- "eth not, but believeth in him that juſtifieth the ungodly, "his faith is counted to him for righteouſneſs." Faith indeed is highly proper for receiving the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, becauſe it gives the glory only to God. To ſuppoſe faith has any merit in it, is juſt as abſurd as to ſuppoſe that a perſon being wholly needy and helpleſs and his accepting the bounty of another, is an evidence of his having abundance of his own.

As to the fruits of faith, or works of righteouſneſs, no perſon can deny that they are the proper evidence of our relation to God:—That they are the expreſſions of our love to him:—That they are neceſſary to form us for his ſervice and fit us for his preſence: But being the work of his holy Spirit and the accompliſhment of his faithful promiſe, it is impoſſible that they ſhould be in any reſpect conditions of the covenant of grace.

The promiſes of the covenant of grace are ranged in a certain order—they introduce and lead to one another, and they are to be received and applied preciſely in the ſame order—Chriſt the Saviour—the free pardon of ſin—a new nature as the work of his ſpirit—increaſe of grace—a ſanctified Providence—victory over death—and the poſſeſſion of everlaſting life.—Theſe muſt take place juſt in the order I have mentioned them. If the order is inverted, the ſyſtem is deſtroyed.

2. The ſecond thing to be conſidered is the various diſpenſations of the covenant, and their relation to one another. The covenant of grace in every diſpenſation differs from the covenant of works. The covenant of works required perfect obedience, and one ſin rendered it void. In the covenant of grace there is proviſion made, not only for reconciling the ſinner, but for daily pardon to the believer. In the covenant of works every thing depends upon the perſonal conduct of the intereſted party; in the covenant of grace there is a Mediator who lays his hands upon them both.

As to the diſpenſations of the covenant of grace we may conſider them as appearing before the law, under the law, and from the coming of Chriſt.

(1.) Before giving the law we ſee is made to Adam, this promiſe or rather the promiſe is made in the following terms—"The ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpent's head,"—And to Abraham—"In thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be called bleſſed." I think the promiſe if not the covenant was ſubſtantially made the ſame then as now. The apoſtle to the Galatians, 3, 17. thought the ſame thing, that the promiſe to Abraham was the New Teſtament promiſe, and that whatever the law had peculiar to itſelf was poſterior to the promiſe, "and this I ſay that the covenant which was confirmed before of God in Chriſt," &c. The promiſe at that time, as now, was eternal life, as the Apoſtle to the Hebrews plainly proves, Heb. 11, 13. "Theſe all died in faith," &c.—It is alſo plain I think, that as the promiſe to the faith of the ancient patriarchs was in ſubſtance the ſame with ours, ſo their faith itſelf was alſo the ſame. It was a reliance on the mercy of God. It was that faith which is the evidence of things not ſeen, and the ſubſtance of things hoped for.

(2.) Under the law the covenant alſo was the ſame in ſubſtance, as appears by the arguments juſt now hinted at. The only thing particular, is to conſider what was the import of the Sinai covenant, or the deſign of giving the law of Moſes. Some ſeeing that the Levitical law conſiſts chiefly of temporal promiſes, are for ſuppoſing that

diſpenſation quite diſtinct from the covenant of grace. They have even called the ten commandments given upon Mount Sinai, a republication of the law of nature, and of the covenant of works. A late celebrated writer, Dr. Warburton, attempted to ſhew that Moſes did not in the law give them any reaſon to expect eternal life, but confined both the promiſes and threatenings entirely to things temporal. Even to this author probably many have imputed more than he intended to affirm. Yet he certainly carries his arguments too far in ſuppoſing that in none of the inſpired writers of the Old Teſtament is eternal life propoſed as the object of faith. This may be eaſily refuted; and indeed is in the book of Job ſo ſtrongly refuted, that the author is forced into the extraordinary ſuppoſition of that book being as late as the Babyloniſh captivity, in order to rid himſelf of it. However I think that it muſt be admitted that temporal promiſes and threatnings make the moſt diſtinguiſhed appearance in the Levitical law. This took place becauſe it was deſigned as a typical diſpenſation and to be a ſhadow of good things to come. It is plain however, that the law of Moſes did not provide an atonement for every crime, and ſuppoſed many ſins which could not be expiated by the blood of bulls, or of goats, for which the only remedy was reliance on the mere mercy of God, in the exerciſe of true repentance, ſee Iſa. 1, 16. &c. the ſame prophet, chap. lv. 1. "Ho! every one that thirſteth," &c.

The New Teſtament expreſsly tells us, that the law was a ſchool-maſter to bring us to Chriſt, and the innumerable perſons, and things, and ordinances that were typical in it need not be mentioned. The land of Canaan itſelf, and all the temporal promiſes preparatory to it or in conſequence of the poſſeſſion of it, had a reference to the ſpiritual promiſes under the goſpel, and doubtleſs the acceptance and ſalvation of them under the law, are upon the footing of the everlaſting covenant, which began to be delivered before the law was given, and will continue till the final conſummation of all things.

The moral law publiſhed upon Mount Sinai muſt not be conſidered as a republication of the covenant of works,

but a publication or ſummary of that immutable law of righteouſneſs which is the duty of creatures, and muſt accompany the adminiſtration of every covenant which God makes with man.

(3.) Since the coming of Chriſt the covenant of grace is adminiſtered in a manner more full, clear and efficacious than in any of the former ſtates. It was formerly adminiſtered in the name of, and by a promiſed Saviour; It is now adminiſtered in the name of, and by a riſen Redeemer, who once ſuffered and now reigns in glory. The harmony of all the divine perfections in the great ſalvation is more apparent now than formerly, and the preaching of the glad tidings of peace to ſinners is more explicit and more univerſal. What falls chiefly to be conſidered is how far the former diſpenſations are ſuſpended or abrogated by the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh. The covenant ratified by the death of Chriſt is called a new covenant, in oppoſition to that which is old and vaniſhed away. Certainly the covenant is called new, in oppoſition to the covenant of works, which as the way of ſalvation was abrogated from the date of the firſt promiſe, and both in the Epiſtles to the Romans, Galatians and Hebrews, eſpecially the two former, the goſpel or law of grace, is oppoſed to the law of works, meaning the firſt covenant. And that I may ſatisfy you of this without entering into the endleſs criticiſms upon particular paſſages, obſerve that thoſe who would by the law, underſtand the law of Moſes, excluſive of the covenant of works, may be eaſily confuted, for the Apoſtle ſays, "that it is by faith, that it may be by "grace."—That if juſtification was by works, Abraham might have whereof to glory; and that the deſign of this conſtitution was that no fleſh might glory in God's preſence. The ceremonial law is undoubtedly abrogated both from the expreſs declaration of ſcripture, and from the nature and reaſon of things—Chriſt is now the end of the law for righteouſneſs to every one that believeth. And as the whole ſyſtem of the Moſaic law was intended to typify the goſpel diſpenſation when Chriſt was actually come in the fleſh, it muſt fall of itſelf as unneceſſary or hurtful.

There has been much controverſy whether it was proper to ſay that the moral law was abrogated, or to apply to that law what is ſaid of believers not being under the law but under grace. This matter one would think might be eaſily reconciled, for doubtleſs the moral law as a covenant of works carrying a ſentence of condemnation againſt every tranſgreſſion is abrogated. But the moral law as the unalterable rule of duty to creatures is antecedent to all covenants, and cannot be affected by them. The moral law as it requires obedience to the will, and conformity to the nature of God, was binding on the Angels before the creation of the world; and will be the duty of holy angels and redeemed ſinners after the reſurrection. But there is alſo another view of this ſubject—that the moral law is a part of the covenant of grace, in the hand of the Mediator. It is the promiſe of the covenant that the law ſhall be written in our hearts, an unfeigned faith implies the acceptance of this as well as other promiſes, ſo that the believer not only remains under his original unchangeable obligation to keep the law, but comes under a new and peculiar obligation, to be diſcharged in his Redeemer's ſtrength: ſo that to take the thing properly, there is more obedience in the covenant of grace, than in the covenant of works. The covenant of grace requires unfeigned ſubjection to every part of the ſame law, with this mortifying addition, that the believer receives it wholly as a condition of his acceptance, and aſcribes it entirely to the riches of divine grace.

There is ſometimes mention made of the political law of Moſes, and it is demanded whether this is of perpetual obligation? The anſwer ſeems to be eaſy. It contains an excellent ſyſtem of laws ſuited to the ſettlement of the Jews in Canaan, and many principles of equity, that may be of great uſe to other legiſlators; but as the civil laws in general have only in view temporal property and convenience, they certainly are not unalterable, becauſe they muſt be ſuited to the ſtate of ſociety—and other circumſtances which may be very various.—Sundry of the precepts alſo in the political law ſeem to have an allegorical meaning, and to have been made either

with a view of ſuggeſting or ſtrengthening moral principles, or to be typical of goſpel times—as the precept, "thou ſhalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," "thou ſhalt not ſeethe the kid in its mother's milk."—But we may obſerve that the principles laid down in the criminal law are founded upon ſo much wiſdom, that it is a queſtion whether the departure from them in puniſhing of crimes has ever been attended with advantage. As for example, in regard to violence—the law of retaliation—an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth—in theft and fraud—reſtitution—and the puniſhment of adultery with death.

What remains upon this ſubject is only to point out in what manner the goſpel is to be preached agreeable to it, and what views of things are contrary to it. To ſet this matter before you with as much diſtinctneſs and propriety as I am able, obſerve that this gracious diſpenſation muſt be opened and preſſed juſt as it is ſuited to the various conditions of thoſe to whom it is addreſſed—theſe I ſhall divide into three great claſſes. (1.) Secure or ſelf-righteous perſons. (2.) Convinced ſinners. (3.) Profeſſing believers.

1. Secure or ſelf-righteous perſons who do not ſeem to have ever laid their eternal concerns to heart, or are building on ſome falſe foundation, as a form of godlineſs, or the merit of good works, or the comparative ſmallneſs of the ſins of which they are guilty. To theſe it is neceſſary to preach the law in all its extent and in all the force of its obligation. It is neceſſary to point out the evil of ſin, the loſt ſtate of man by nature; and the abſolute neceſſity of pardon through the blood of Chriſt and renovation by his ſpirit. It may be very proper for them and all others, to ſhew them the guilt and folly of particular ſins, ſuch as ſwearing, drunkenneſs, uncleanneſs. But if ſomething more is not done the evil is not ſearched to the bottom, for we ought to ſhew them that theſe are but the fruits of an unrenewed nature. That reſtraining, moderating or even reforming a particular ſin is not enough, nor any evidence of a change from ſin unto God. It is particularly proper in ſuch caſes to point out the extent and ſpirituality of the law as reaching to the

thoughts of the heart, so as if possible to shew them that they are guilty and helpless, and that there is no salvation in any but in Christ. This leads us to say,

2. That with regard to convinced sinners it is very particularly necessary to set before them the all-sufficiency of Christ, the fullness and freeness of that salvation which he purchased upon the cross, and offers in his word. To shew them that he has finished his work and done every thing necessary to render it perfectly consistent with the justice and holiness of God to forgive even the chief of sinners. But this will be best illustrated by pointing out some sentiments and views contrary to the freeness of salvation, and the plan of the gospel.

(1) It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and to the covenant of grace to extenuate sin, to have hard thoughts of God, of the strictness of his law, or the severity of its sanction. This arises from imperfect conviction of sin which sometimes makes the sinner use some efforts to obtain salvation; but still he is apt to think he would have very hard measures if he was rejected. Imperfect convictions lead sinners to seek their comfort from the extenuation of sin, but true faith incites the sinner to give full force to the accusation, and to plead the benefit of the remission.

(2) It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and to the tenor of the covenant of grace, to think that the greatness or atrociousness of sin should hinder our returning to God for obtaining mercy. This is one of the first reflections of a sinner under conviction, that he has sinned more than any other, and that another can sooner expect forgiveness than he. While this only serves to increase humiliation, and raise to the foundation every degree of self-confidence, its operation is salutary. But sometimes this arises from too rooted adherence to some degree of human merit, as necessary to find favor with God, and then instead of compelling the sinner to rest in the infinite compassion of God, it makes him fall upon some scheme of purchasing salvation for himself; or if he finds this impracticable, perhaps he is plunged into the gulph of despair. In opposition to this the new and well ordered covenant sends him to the infinite fulness of Christ for a free and complete

pardon, and for deliverance from the power of his corruptions.

3. It is contrary to the freeneſs of ſalvation and the covenant of grace to have any dependence on one's being comparatively leſs wicked than another. If the ſinner's hope ariſes much from his having been free from this or that ſin, he is reſting on a legal foundation. This was a rock of perdition to the Phariſees—See how the Saviour has oppoſed this character to the other, Luke 18, 11. "The Phariſee ſtood and prayed," &c. Not that God would repreſent it as a leſs ſafe ſtate to attend to the exerciſe of religion than to be an adulterer. But when men reſt their dependence on their comparative goodneſs in themſelves, it only ſerves to lead them away from an eſteem and acceptance of divine mercy. On this account our Saviour ſays to the Phariſees, Matth. 21, 31. "Verily I ſay unto you, the Publicans," &c. The ſight of a great profligate deadens the ſenſe of ſin in the minds of many worldly perſons, but in an humble penitent it only excites him to reflect upon the great principles of all ſin in his own heart, and what he might have been, had not a reſtraining Providence and recovering grace been his preſervation.

4. It is contrary to the freeneſs of ſalvation and the covenant of grace, to ſuppoſe that we may not, or muſt not lay hold of divine mercy till we have done ſomething ourſelves in the way of duty and performance; till our penitential tears or purpoſes of obedience, or begun reformation, entitle us to call it ours. No doubt ſelf denial and experience of the treachery of our own hearts ſhould fill us with humility and jealouſy of ourſelves; but the true way to reconcile the heart to duty, and to break the power of ſin is to reſt our hope upon Divine Mercy for pardon, and on the promiſe in the covenant of the Holy Spirit to ſanctify us wholly. Many retard their reformation as well as obſtruct their comfort by yielding to a ſpirit of bondage and ſlaviſh fear. We ſhould rather pray in the words of Zechariah, Luke 1, 74. "That we being deli-
"vered," &c.

5. It is contrary to the freeneſs of ſalvation and the covenant of grace to boaſt of our own righteouſneſs, or in any degree to truſt in our own ſtrength. The motto of a Chriſtian ſhould be in the words of the Prophet Iſa. 45, 24. "Surely ſhall one ſay," &c. It is not merely the pardon of ſin, but the ſanctification of the nature and ſtrength for daily obedience that is promiſed in the covenant; and both muſt be received from the Mediator's hand and aſcribed to him as their proper ſource. It is an admirable expreſſion of the Apoſtle Paul, who ſays, "I "obtained mercy to be faithful," accounting that a ſubject of gratitude and a mercy received, which others would have reckoned an occaſion of boaſting. Nothing is more contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel than ſelf dependence, and indeed the whole ſubſtance of this diſpenſation has been deſigned to abaſe the pride of man, and to exalt the grace of God.

To profeſſing believers, the whole duties of the law of God are to be preached, for believers are not without law to God, but under the law to Chriſt. The laws of the goſpel are to be inculcated as the fruits of faith, and the evidence of a ſaving change. There is a great difference between conſidering duties as going before, and as following faith and reconciliation; the firſt is legal, the laſt evangelical. You need not be afraid but that duties may be preached as ſtrictly in the laſt way as in the firſt, and it will certainly be done with much greater ſafety.

SPEECH

IN THE

Synod of Glasgow,

When I was accused of being the Author of the Ecclesiastical Characteristics.

MODERATOR,

IT cannot but give me ſome pain to think upon my being obliged to ſtand at your bar, in ſome ſort as a pannel or accuſed perſon. At the ſame time, this is greatly alleviated, by the conſideration that I am now called to a regular defence of my character, which has been long abuſed in the moſt virulent manner, when I had no opportunity of ſpeaking for myſelf. But Sir, before coming to the particular objection which has been pleaded before you, it is neceſſary that I ſhould endeavor to remove the great odium that has been, by ſome in the world, induſtriouſly thrown upon me. Thoſe gentlemen at the bar, by whom I am now conſtrained to this apology, perhaps know who it was that taught certain perſons who knew nothing of me, to repreſent me as a firebrand, as violent and contentious, unfit to be a member of any quiet ſociety. This is a character, Sir, which I am moſt unwilling to bear, and which, if I am not greatly miſtaken,

is moſt unjuſtly imputed to me, from any paſt part of my conduct. I call upon all thoſe, with whom I have lived many years in preſbytery, to ſay if they will lay this to my charge. The apoſtle James tells us, that "if any "man offend not in word, the ſame is a perfect man."— Perfection I do not plead; but any comparative guilt in this reſpect, I do abſolutely refuſe. I call particularly upon my neareſt neighbor, a miniſter and co-preſbyter, who ought ſurely to be an unſuſpected witneſs, becauſe we have hardly ever agreed in any principle of church government; yet there hath not been the leaſt jealouſy or dryneſs between us as men, nor even as Chriſtians or miniſters; and yet difference in opinion, has often cauſed ſuch things between very good men. I have alſo, Sir, been many times a member of this Synod, ſometimes when debates were pretty high, and may ſafely affirm, that I have been as far from indiſcretion and violence, as any of thoſe who accuſe me. I was none of thoſe, in April 1753, who in the committee of overtures, ſpun out the time purpoſely with long ſpeeches till the ſynod's hour was come, and then would not ſuffer the committee to come to any deciſion; but unleſs the ſynod were immediately conſtituted, threatened, with apparent paſſion and fury, to withdraw, and conſtitute a ſeparate ſynod altogether. Probably Mr. P——, and Mr. M——, may be able to inform you who the perſons were; and I aſſure you from my own knowledge, that ſuch conduct in clergymen was very aſtoniſhing and offenſive to ſome of the laity. I have been told that at the admiſſion of the Rev. Mr. Baine in Paiſley, the perſon who admitted him among other advices told him to beware of a party ſpirit; and in this, another member ſaid he ſpoke the ſenſe of the whole preſbytery. I am convinced there are ſome perſons who by a party ſpirit mean a perſon, having different principles from themſelves, and that no meekneſs of temper, no purity of character, no humanity in his carriage, will in that caſe, ſave an opponent from ſuch an imputation. But if by a party ſpirit be underſtood a regard to the perſon as much as the cauſe, and proſecuting their own purpoſes in a violent and illegal manner, without candor or charity to thoſe who

differ from them, I know none who have a juſter title to the character than ſome members of that reverend body. Several inſtances might be given in their paſt conduct, to juſtify this obſervation; ſome of which perhaps I ſhall afterwards mention; the reſt are well enough known, and indeed, it ſeems to be generally agreed by the world about them, that they are not over patient of mixture.

This, Sir, very plainly appears from the caſe now before you. This preſbytery have refuſed leave to grant even of a call to me, upon a preſentation and unanimous application from all concerned; and aſſign this reaſon for it, that there is a report of my being author of a book, which they ſay in their minutes is of a very bad tendency to the intereſts of religion, and injurious to the characters of many miniſters of this church, and therefore they appointed a committee, &c. The injury done to the town of Paiſley, it is the buſineſs of the congregation to complain of, and they have done it, and wait for redreſs from you. The injury done to me, I beg leave in a few words, to repreſent to this venerable Synod.—And here, Sir, I do not complain of their taking into conſideration any book that they ſhall be pleaſed to think contrary to the intereſts of Religion, and ſhould have been well ſatisfied to hear of a motion for cenſuring irreligious books come from that quarter.—I wiſh if ever it come from any quarter they may faithfully inſpect it. But ſir, I complain that they have joined my name to a certain book with which they are not pleaſed, and then paſſed a ſentence condemning it, when I was not and could not regularly be before them. This is a caſe that may have important conſequences. All I deſire is equity and juſtice, and that ſurely I have a right to claim. The preſbetery of Paiſley, Sir, had a right to accuſe me if they pleaſed before the preſbytery of which I am a member. But they had no right at all to condemn or even to judge me themſelves, and much leſs when I was not heard.—Perhaps it will be ſaid they have not found me guilty, but propoſed a peaceable manner of trying whether I was ſo or not; but Sir have they not found by their ſentence the relevancy of the crime, againſt which, as well as the proof, any accuſed perſon has a right to be heard.

The injury they have done me and the unjuſt and tyrannical method of their proceedings appear in the moſt evident manner from the ſituation in which I now ſtand, and the manner of the cauſe being pleaded before you—You ſee with what difficulty they were hindred, or rather that they could not be hindered, from entering into the merits of the cauſe, and endeavoring to perſuade the Synod to condemn this book to which they have joined my name, before they have ſo much as let me know the nature and form of the proceſs againſt me, and when I have had no opportunity to ſee and anſwer their charge.—This is againſt all rule, for by the form of proceſs it ought to have begun at the preſbytery of Irvine; and whether it be taken up upon the footing of a *fama clamosa*, or a libel from a particular accuſer, there muſt ſtill be virtually a libel in the view of the court—But by bringing it in here in the manner they have done and pleading upon it, they are endeavoring to get a law made, as it were *ex post facto*, upon which I may be condemned hereafter; and they have reduced me to the neceſſity of pleading in defence of a book with which I do not, nor ever did pretend any connection, unleſs I would give a ſanction to a method of proceeding pregnant with tyranny and injuſtice. So that though I come to the Synod for juſtice it is really hardly poſſible for you fully to grant it, becauſe you cannot wholly underſtand the bad effects of the Preſbyterys wrong procedure. I am ſenſible Sir, that it would be giving up the very point which I am chiefly to plead, if I ſhould enter into the merits of the cauſe ſo far as to conſider the particulars contained in this book; whether they are juſt or unjuſt, true or falſe. But I muſt beg leave to conſider a little in general whether the crime of which they think proper to ſuſpect me was ſo certainly and ſelf-evidently relevant that they might take it for granted, and aſſert it in their minutes, without ſo much as having the book before them, or mentioning the offenſive paſſages; which I ſhould think were neceſſary even in the worſt book that can be conceived—and to all this join my name without ſuffering me to be heard.

And here, ſir, I ſhould think that modeſty and common decency might have led them to determine otherwiſe had they not before themſelves the unanimous application of a large and numerous people to call me to be their miniſter. Did not theſe people know of the rumour of my being author of this book before they entered into this reſolution, and are they all ſo abandoned as to call an enemy to all rules to watch for their ſouls? Did not the preſbytery know that the perſon ſo ſuſpected had been a member of a preſbytery for ſome years after the ſuſpicion began? that he had been a member of this Synod with themſelves, nay a member of the Supreme Court of this church, and no notice taken of it at all? Nay are they ſo ignorant as not to know that a very great majority of this nation find no fault with the book at all? and any perſon profeſſing himſelf the author would not thereby in the leaſt degree forfeit their eſteem. Pray ſir, was it, is it, could it be juſt in this caſe to conclude it criminal without debate or examination? I mean not by this to juſtify the book in every particular; perhaps if it comes to be examined I may join in condemning it, at leaſt, ſome parts; but I inſiſt that this ſhows the precipitateneſs the partiality and injuſtice of the Preſbytery in the ſentence which they paſſed. It looks as if they themſelves were ſtruck at in the performance and acted as intereſted perſons; and indeed I would gladly aſk them whether they think themſelves pointed at in the pamphlet, and if they think ſo and at the ſame time aſcribe it to me, whether it is juſt and equitable that they ſhould be my judges who are ſuppoſed to be aggrieved?

There is another general conſideration that ſhews how unjuſt and precipitate this ſentence was, and that there is really no belief of the thing being ſo criminal as they have taken for granted, among thoſe who muſt be moſt unprejudiced and impartial judges. It is read in England, and the preſbytery of Paiſley do, or may know the ſentiments that are entertained of it there. I have been well informed that the preſent Biſhop of London in converſation with a Nobleman of our own country, gave it great commendations, and withal added, it ſeems only directed at a certain party in the church of Scotland, but we want

not very many in the Church of England, to whom the characters are very applicable. And Sir, I have seen a letter from the Rev. Mr. Warburton to a minister in Scotland, and it has been seen by several ministers here present, in which he commends the performance, and particularly calls it a fine piece of raillery against a party, to which says he, we are no strangers here—Is it to be supposed sir, that distinguished persons for worth and penetration, would commend and approve a thing so evidently criminal as the presbytery of Paisley are pleased to think—Are these persons of the character there represented in the Church of England? Where then is the Church of Scotland's charter of security that none shall ever arise in her deserving such a reprimand? shall such names as these mentioned openly affirm that there are such in England? and must the man be condemned without hearing and without mercy who is but suspected of hinting that there may be such in her sister church? I have often indeed since the commencement of this business reflected on the different situation of affairs in Scotland and England. I have seen I know not how many books in England printed with the authors names, which plainly and without ambiguity affirm that there are some of the Clergy proud, ambitious, time-servers, and tools to those in power; some of them lazy and slothful, lovers of ease and pleasure, some of them scandalous and dissolute in their manners, some ignorant and insufficient. And these things they affirm without the least danger or apprehension of it: but I believe, were I to publish a book that had the tenth part of such severity in it in Scotland, I ought at the same time to have a ship hired to flee to another country. I shall not pretend to account for this difference, but only affirm, and I am myself a standing evidence, that it doth really subsist. And at the same time it is attended by a very odd circumstance, for reproaches are criminal when thrown out by one set against the other, but not in the least so when thrown out or thrown back by that other against the first—Many here present will remember what a set of overtures were brought into this Synod in April 1753 by some of the very persons who are now standing at the bar; one of them set forth the

grievous crime of bringing our public differences with one another into the pulpit: and yet, ſtrange to think the only ſermon that ever I heard in my life in which this was done, was by one of my preſent accuſers, who, Sir, fell bloodily upon thoſe miniſters who bawl out againſt the law of the land as a grievance, inſtead of giving it that obedience which becomes good ſubjects. It indeed was his ignorance to find fault with that expreſſion, which is uſed even by the ſacred infallible General Aſſembly, in the annual inſtructions to their commiſſioners. Is it not alſo well known, that a pamphlet was publiſhed, called "The Juſt View of the Conſtitution," which common, uncontradicted fame, which is not my caſe, attributes to Mr. H———, and publiſhed many months before the one for which I am now accuſed. This pamphlet repreſents us all in general as not acting upon conſcience, but from a love of popularity, or in the words of the ingenious Mr. T—— of Gowan, "not conſcience, but a ſpirit of faction and a love of dominion." And beſides this, it tells a ſtory, which it calls a ſcene of iniquity, with the initial letters of the names of the perſons concerned. Was ever this pamphlet charged by theſe gentlemen, my opponents, as contrary to the intereſt of religion? At the ſame time, I ſhould be glad to know what it is that makes the diſcovery of a ſcene of iniquity, if committed by ſome whom I muſt not name, contrary to the intereſt of religion; but the diſcovery of a ſcene of iniquity, ſuppoſed to be committed by Mr. Webſter, or ſome others of us, nothing contrary to it at all. I am not able to diſcover any reaſon for this difference of judgment, but one that is not very honorable to them, viz. Theſe ſcenes of iniquity, ſuppoſed to be committed by them, are more probable in themſelves, and actually obtain more credit, than thoſe which they throw out againſt us. I do not affirm that that is the reaſon, but I think, ſince they have been the aggreſſors, both in cenſuring us for ſcrupling obedience to ſome of their deciſions, and attacking our characters in print, if ſome nameleſs author has with great ſucceſs retaliated thei njury of the laſt kind, they ought to lie as quietly under it as poſſible, both from equity and prudence—from equity, becauſe they have

given the provocation; from prudence, becauſe it will bring many to ſay, that charge muſt have been juſt, or it would have been treated with contempt. Surely that ſtroke muſt have been well aimed—the wound muſt have been very deep, ſince the ſcar continues ſo long, and is never like to be either forgotten or forgiven.

But, Sir, I muſt confeſs I am amazed at the boldneſs, as well as the violence of thoſe gentlemen, conſidering the land in which we live. Is it not, and do we not glory in its being a land of liberty? Is it then a land of civil liberty and yet of eccleſiaſtical tyranny? Muſt not a man have equity and juſtice in the church, as well as the ſtate? Are there not every day publiſhed in this nation, as ſevere, nay much ſeverer, cenſures of the greateſt characters in the kingdom, and poſſeſſing the higheſt offices? Are there not attacks upon our ſovereign himſelf, and his auguſt family, many times made in print, and yet paſſed unheeded? And muſt the leaſt attempt to ſhow that there are corruptions among the clergy, be an unpardonable crime? I have ſeen it inſiſted on in print, that as ſoon as the liberty of the preſs is taken away, there is an end of every ſhadow of liberty. And as of late years it hath been very frequent to borrow from what is cuſtomary in the civil government, and apply it to the church, I ſhall beg leave to borrow this maxim, and to affirm, that ſo ſoon as it is not permitted in general, to laſh the characters of churchmen, there is eſtabliſhed a ſacerdotal tyranny, which always was, and always will be, of the moſt cruel, relentleſs, and illegal kind. But the worſt of all is ſtill behind, which I am aſhamed to mention in the preſence of ſo many of the laity, becauſe of the reproach which it brings upon our church. There have been publiſhed among us, writings directly levelled againſt religion itſelf, taking away the very foundation of morality, bringing in doubt the being of God, and treating our Redeemer's name with contempt and deriſion. Writings of this kind have been publicly avowed, with the author's name prefixed. Where has been the zeal of the preſbytery of Paiſley againſt ſuch writings? Have they moved for the exerciſe of diſcipline againſt the authors? Have they ſupported the motion

when made by others? I am afraid, Sir, this profecution will give many juſt ground to ſay, as was ſaid an age ago by Moliere in France, and by ſome there upon occaſion of his writings, that a man may write againſt God Almighty what he pleaſes, in perfect ſecurity; but if he write againſt the characters of the clergy in power, he is ruined for ever.

I am ſenſible, Sir, that they have ſaid, even at this bar, as indeed they and their emmiſſaries in converſation have often alledged, that the quarrel they have at the pamphlet, is its hurtful tendency to the intereſt of religion: nay, they have often ſaid that one who could write in that ſtyle and manner againſt his brethren, cannot poſſibly be a good man; and that has been commonly ſaid even upon the ſuppoſition of the truth of the facts and characters contained in the book. This, Sir, I would have had nothing to do with, but would have ſuffered the book to anſwer for itſelf, ſince its author does not think proper to appear in its defence, if they had not been pleaſed to load me with the ſuſpicion of it. For removing this odium, by which alone it is that they have made an impreſſion on ſome good men, I obſerve in general, that it is not conceivable that a thing ſhould be a certain mark of a bad man, which is approved by, and conveys no ſuch idea to ſo great a number of unqueſtionable characters. But beſides, let us conſider a little the nature of the thing—1. It is written ironically. 2. It is ſuppoſed to attack the characters and credit of a part of the clergy of the church of Scotland. As to the firſt of theſe, far be it from me to aſſert that ridicule is the teſt of truth; many here preſent know how uniformly, and how ſtrenuouſly I have maintained the contrary: it is however many times uſeful to diſgrace known falſehood, and ſuch practices as to be deſpiſed need only to be expoſed; that it is a lawful thing to make ſuch an uſe of it, is evident from the higheſt authority. There are many inſtances of irony in the ſacred writings. In Gen. iii. 22. we have an expreſſion put into the mouth of God himſelf, which many, perhaps moſt interpreters ſuppoſe to be an irony; and as it is of the moſt ſevere and cutting kind, in a moſt deplorable caſe, ſo

I do not see that another interpretation can be put upon the words.—" And the Lord God said, behold the man is be-" come as one of us, to know good and evil." The conduct of Elijah, and his treatment of the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 27. is another example of the same kind; " And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, " and said, Cry aloud: for he is a god, either he is talking, " or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradven-" ture he sleepeth, and must be awaked." There are a good many instances of it in the prophets, which I omit to save time, as the thing is undeniable, and only further mention an expression of our Saviour himself, who though a man of sorrows, and in a state of humiliation, yet in some places uses a language plainly ironical, as in John x. 31. " Many good works have I shewed you from my " Father, for which of these works do ye stone me."

And as the instances of such writing in the word of God sufficiently warrants the use of it, so it is founded upon the plainest reason. There are two distinct qualities of truth and piety; a divine beauty, which renders them amiable, and a holy majesty, which renders them venerable:—and there are also two distinct qualities of error and impiety; a criminal guilt, which renders them the object of horror, and a delusion and folly, which renders them silly and contemptible—and it is fit and proper that the children of God should have both of these sentiments of hatred and contempt with regard to them. And the last is often necessary, as well as the first, in combating corruptions. There is for ordinary, a pride and self-sufficiency in wicked men, which makes them deaf to advice, and impregnable to sober and serious reasoning, nor is there any getting at them till their pride is levelled a little with this dismaying weapon. Many of the ancient fathers of the Christian church, both used this manner of writing, and asserted its necessity. There is one passage of Tertullian, which I shall translate, because it is very much to the purpose. " There are many things which ought to be treated with contempt and mockery, through fear of giving them weight, and making them too important, by seriously debating them. Nothing more is due

to vanity than deriſion; and it belongs to the truth to ſmile, becauſe it is chearful, and to deſpiſe its enemies, becauſe it is aſſured of victory. It is true that we ought to be careful that the raillery be not low and unworthy of the truth; but if that is taken care of, and we can make uſe of it with addreſs and delicacy, it is a duty to do ſo." To this I ſhall add another paſſage from St. Auguſtine—"Who will dare to ſay that the truth ought to remain defenceleſs againſt the attacks of falſehood? That the enemies of religion ſhall be permitted to terrify the faithful with ſtrong words, and to entice and ſeduce them by agreeable terms of wit; but that believers ought never to write, but with ſuch a coldneſs of ſtyle, as to lull the reader aſleep?"

Enough ſurely has been ſaid in defence of the manner of writing; and as to the ſubject of it, attacking the characters of clergymen, I am altogether at a loſs to know what is that argument in reaſon, or that precept in ſcripture, which makes it criminal to cenſure them, when they deſerve it. That their ſtation, like that of all other perſons of influence or in public employment, ſhould make men very tender and cautious how they take up an evil report againſt them, and never to do it, except upon good ground, I allow; but when the church is really bad, I hold it as a juſt principle, that as it is in them doubly criminal, and doubly pernicious, ſo it ought to be expoſed with double ſeverity. And this is ſo far from being contrary to the intereſts of religion, that nothing can be more honorable to it, than to ſhew that there are ſome ſo bold as to reprove, and ſo faithful as to withſtand the corruptions of others. How far ſecret wickedneſs ſhould be concealed, and ſcenes of iniquity not laid open, and ſo ſin turned into ſcandal in miniſters, is a matter that would require a very careful and accurate diſcuſſion, and admit of many exceptions; but if in any caſe, erroneous doctrine, or degeneracy of life, is plain and viſible, to render them completely odious, muſt be a duty; and when it is not done, it makes men conclude weare all combined together, like Demetrius and the craftſmen, and more concerned for our own power and credit, than the intereſt and benefit of thoſe committed

to our charge. Thoſe who think that no good man can attack the character of the clergy, I would juſt remind of the attack made upon the Jeſuits in France, about one hundred years ago, by the gentlemen of the Port royal, a ſociety of Janſeniſts, of great parts, and eminent piety; particularly by Monſieur Paſcal, in his provincial letters, which are written almoſt entirely in the way of ridicule. And the very objection was made againſt them by the Jeſuits at that time, that is now made againſt this piece. Will any man now conclude from them, that Paſcal was a bad man, whom all hiſtory teſtifies to have been as pious and unbiaſſed to the world, as any of his time?

I hope, ſir, what hath been ſaid thus in general, on the ſpecies of writing, and the ſubject of this book, will convince every impartial member of this Synod, that the Preſbytery of Paiſley have acted in a moſt unjuſt and illegal manner, in paſſing the ſentence they have done upon it in my abſence, and without any examination. It is neceſſary that I ſhould now alſo ſpeak a little to the method of enquiry which they reſolved upon, by appointing a committee of their number privately to interrogate me. And indeed, ſir, the method is ſo full of abſurdity and tyranny, that I know not well where to begin in ſpeaking upon it. They have no where indeed told what were to be the conſequences, if their ſuſpicions were found to be juſt. Perhaps the Preſbytery of Paiſley would have paſſed ſentence of depoſition againſt me in my abſence, which would have been but ending as they began, contrary to law and juſtice. But, whatever were their particular intentions, by their violent and illegal ſtretches of power in falling upon it, they were plainly of the worſt kind; and it always put me in mind of a Fryer of the Inquiſition, with an unhappy perſon before you, whom they want to convict, that they may burn him, ſtroking him, and ſaying to him in the ſpirit of meekneſs, Confeſs, my ſon, confeſs.

Sir, if theſe gentlemen ſuppoſed me endued with the leaſt degree of common underſtanding, this method was exceſſively abſurd; and whether they did or not, it was full of injuſtice. This committee being appointed by the court, and the appointment inſerted on the records of

the Preſbytery, I juſt aſk, were they not to make a report to the next meeting of the Preſbytery, of all their private converſation with me? Would not this alſo be ingroſſed in the minutes, and make a part of the proceſs under their cognizance? Could I be preſent at their next meeting, to be the leaſt check or controul upon their report? or would they regard any of my corrections of their committee's report, if I could? In this ſituation, no man of common ſenſe would have had any converſation with them but by writing, ſo that he might be ſure nothing would be reported but his own words. For I would not truſt the moſt impartial perſon in the world to report any converſation with me, upon a matter in which he ſeemed to be keenly intereſted, or to have very different ſentiments from me. The power of prejudice would give a tincture to the repreſentation; nay, the leaſt forgetfulneſs would create ſome variance. And if they ſuppoſed me ſimple enough to converſe with them, what muſt they have been, to take ſuch advantage of my ſimplicity?

Further, ſir, this method of enquiry was very abſurd, becauſe ſelf-contradictory. They load a man with the ſuſpicion of writing a book contrary to the intereſt of religion, and containing many falſhoods; and then they pretend to aſk this man if he had done ſo, ſaying that they will be well ſatisfied if he ſhall deny it. Theſe ſuppoſitions deſtroy one another. If his veracity be ſo entirely to be depended on, either he muſt not be the author of the book, or it is impoſſible it can contain the falſhoods that are alleged: for if he will lie in print to defame his brethren, he will ſurely never ſcruple to lie in converſation to ſave himſelf from ruin. Therefore, ſir, I do affirm, that appointing a committee to confer with me, was highly abſurd, or Jeſuitically cunning. For if my word is ſo much to be depended on as they give out, it is a clear and compleat vindication of me from their charge, and that out of their own mouths. But perhaps they were more cunning than abſurd, and intended firſt to make me deny the thing formally, and then adduce it as a proof, and to aggravate the crime.

But, sir, they pretend that in this they are only in the spirit, and following the rules of the Gospel; particularly that rule of our Saviour, "If thy brother trespass against thee," &c. It is surprising to hear any speaking in the name of such a body, make use of this argument. I would not give my judgment for having a man to preach the Gospel, who is capable of giving such an interpretation to that text. It evidently and undeniably relates only to private offence or personal injury. "If thy brother "trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between "thee and him alone; if he hear thee, thou hast gained "thy brother." Here, sir, nobody has any thing to do with it but the person injured; if by confession or reparation, he is satisfied, the matter is ended. But will any man say that this is to be applied to cases public in their nature, and against which, if true, a process and public censure is intended? If any of the Presbytery of Paisley, supposing themselves pointed at in that book, had previously come to me when the report rose; or suppose they had at any time, as private persons, spoke to me on the subject—they would have found no man more ready to commune with them, and give them all satisfaction due from one Christian to another. But, sir, after proceeding as a court in the manner above represented; after illegally finding it criminal, and making it the ground of stopping a settlement; then to appoint a committee privately to interrogate me, as to the fact—it is, in my humble opinion, a violence of justice for them to attempt it, a perversion of the word of God to build it upon that text; and it would be yielding up the natural rights of mankind, if I should be so tame as to submit to it.

Again, sir, they pretend that their conduct is exactly conformable to the form of process, and the practice founded upon it, in the case of other scandals, when the very first means of proof is dealing with the accused person's conscience, to bring him to a confession. And here, sir, I must say, before this Synod, that I am not only humbly willing to stand or fall by this form of process, but that I am resolved to assert and maintain my right to be judged by it, and by it alone, and not by the arbitrary

proceedings of some modern clergymen. A general observation is necessary here, that this form of process doth universally proceed upon scandals, the relevancy of which is acknowledged, and cannot be denied. Now, this is by no means the case here, as is evident from my continuing so long in the ministerial character, after the rise of the report, as well as many other considerations suggested above; and therefore, at any rate, the relevancy must be first proved, before there can be any propriety of asking for a confession, and dealing with the conscience. It is true, they have in their minutes found the relevancy; but whether this has been according to the rules in the form of process, I could almost allow even themselves to be judges; for I dare say they would hardly do it a second time.

But now, after we have left this in its full force, let us suppose that the matter objected, were only of a scandalous nature, and let us go to the 7th chapter in the form of process concerning ministers, and see whether the method there prescribed has been observed in this case. But, sir, as the whole affair is full of irregularity, and involved in darkness and confusion by the precipitate or artful conduct of the Presbytery; so there is a particular difficulty which arises from the strange and ambiguous light in which they appear. Those who read the stile and directions of the form of process, will plainly see that such a case as that now before you, was never contemplated by the compilers of it. It is difficult to say whether they are to be considered as private Christians offended and accusing, or the occasion of the accusation; or as a church court taking the affair under their cognizance for judgment. They seem to have considered themselves as both. This I can never yield to; but they shall be at liberty to be either of them they think proper. And so I shall consider them first in the one light, and then in the other.

1st. If they be considered as Christians offended, and the accusers or occasion of the accusation, the rule is to be found in the 4th part of the 7th chapter of the form of process, "All Christians," &c. Here then, sir, I com-

plain of them, that they have not done as Chriſtians, not even what they reſolved to do as a court, and very much out of time. Have they been wary in accuſing me? Have they abſtained from publiſhing or ſpreading the ſcandal? Have they theſe three years by-paſt, converſed with me on the ſubject! Have they not in the controverſy every where called it a heinous crime; though they knew that was far from being generally yielded, and would not probably be yielded by me? Nay, now inſtead of privately converſing with me, during the ſeven weeks delay of the affair, without aſſigning a reaſon, have they not recorded it in their regiſter? Have they not made it a part of a proceſs, diſqualifying me for a call? I leave any one to judge whether this was following the rule laid down in the form of proceſs. Beſides, they act not only as private perſons, but judges; or at leaſt are making the enquiry themſelves, that they may know whether they may deſire the Preſbytery of Irvine to do it after them.

2d. Let us conſider them as a church court, taking the affair under their cognizance for judgment. Here to be ſure, there is a monſtrous impropriety. For, ſuppoſing them to have taken ever ſo juſt ſteps in other reſpects, I was never before them, I cannot be before them, I am not ſubject to them. Yet, ſir, as it cannot be before the Synod in any other way than they have been pleaſed to take it up in; let us ſee how agreeable it is to the form of proceſs, and whether they are ready to deal with me for a confeſſion. The form of proceſs mentions three ways of taking up a ſcandal againſt a miniſter. The two firſt none pretends to hold in this caſe. The laſt is, part 3, laſt clauſe, "that the *fama clamosa*," &c. Now, can any man ſay that this condition holds in the preſent caſe. Is this ſo ſcandalous in the eyes of the people, that a Preſbytery would be reproached if they let it paſs. If there be any ſuch *fama*, it is very ſilent; for I never heard of any fault found with the Preſbytery of Irvine, to whom it naturally fell to do it. On the contrary, I do affirm, becauſe I am able to prove, that the Preſbytery of Paiſley's taking it up, with very many, brings reproach upon them. Again, do they follow the rule preſcribed

even when that condition exists? Have they enquired into the rise, occasion, branches and grounds of this *fama clamosa*. This they were the more bound to do, that it is far from being an uncontradicted *fama*; so far from it, that the very prevailing *fama* is not that I am the author, but some how concerned in it. They themselves express it some such way in their minutes. This makes all the arguments about their passing over the relevancy, every way strong; because a man might have some accession to the publishing of a book in which some very bad things were; and without examination or specifying what this accession was, it would be very hard to judge him guilty of the worst, or of the whole. To say the truth, some of their well-wishers have made it a very dishonorable *fama* for me; saying that I helped to contrive the mischief, to collect the calumnies, but had not skill enough to give it its dress and form. Should not they have enquired then into the grounds of this *fama*? and have they ever done it?

Further, in the 5th paragraph of that chapter of the form of process, it is expressly appointed, that even after a process is begun upon a *fama clamosa*, the court must give a liberal and competent time to answer it. And the accused person is to be heard upon the relevancy. This is, sir, upon the relevancy in the way the facts are laid, even concerning a thing confessedly scandalous; and all this, before the court are to endeavor to bring him to a confession. From this, then, it is clear and evident, that however lawful or prudent it might be for private persons to commune with a man himself till this be done, there is no warrant from the form of process, for a court to appoint any examination and enquiry; on the contrary, it is making, instead of mending a scandal. And if this is the rule in cases confessedly of a scandalous nature, it holds much more strongly in what is now before you.

The truth is, this is not only the order of proceeding expressly laid down with regard to ministers, but it is common equity, and in substance the same with the case of scandal in all other cases, and with respect to all other persons. For though when a particular accuser against a man appears, laying to his charge a gross crime, such as

uncleanneſs, it ſeems to be due to his own character, as well as to the public, that he ſhould profeſs innocence; yet it often happens that when the accuſation appears wanton and malicious, he puts the accuſer upon the proof, and refuſes to give any other ſatisfaction. And whenever any perſon does ſo, though the court may think it obſtinacy and ſtatelineſs, or that they cannot fully approve his conduct, yet they never condemn him on that account, but diſmiſs the proceſs for want of ſufficient light. And I have ſeen ſeveral caſes of this ſort, in which the court abſolutely refuſed to put a man to his oath, or even aſk him if he was willing to ſwear, unleſs there were ſome more preſumption than the bare accuſation. And indeed this is required in the form of proceſs. This, however, is ſtating the caſe too ſtrongly. But if there be no particular accuſer, but a vague and general *fama*, would it be tolerable for a court to call any gentleman whom they ſhall be pleaſed to ſuſpect, and put him upon an enquiry, whether he was ever guilty of the ſin of uncleanneſs? I dare ſay ſuch a meaſure would be deteſted by every reaſonable man.

But you will ſay, here is a *corpus debiti*. Then let me ſuppoſe a caſe exactly parallel—that a child were expoſed in a gentleman's neighborhood; no mother appearing or accuſing; but an idle rumour ariſes, that perhaps it may be his, or it may have been ſomebody about his houſe, and he acceſſary to the commiſſion of the crime; would it in that caſe be reaſonable and juſt, would it be according to the form of proceſs, to call him, and interrogate him, whether he had ever, or for twelve months preceding, been guilty of the crime of uncleanneſs—without making any previous enquiry, as to the riſe of the affair, or probability of the imputation? So, in this caſe, here is a child of the brain, expoſed to the world: the mother, that is to ſay, the preſs or the publiſher, accuſes nobody; nay, pretends that it is lawfully begotten. A vague rumor lays it to me. This hath never been enquired into, though the firſt broacher of it might eaſily be found; and yet I muſt be interrogated by a court, to

whom I am not ſubject, with whom as yet, as a court, I have nothing to do. In ſhort, ſir, what I would do if I were ſo irregularly attacked, and charged with a crime highly and confeſſedly ſcandalous, I do not know, and hope I ſhall never have occaſion to deliberate upon it. But in this vague and illegal accuſation of a doubtful crime, and a crime perhaps chiefly or only in the eyes of thoſe who accuſe me, and their adherents, I hope I will be approved by every impartial perſon in ſtanding up for the rights of mankind, and refuſing to anſwer *super enquirendis.*

I could here put the Synod in mind of a queſtion of this nature, which came before the church of Scotland, in profeſſor S——'s proceſs. He refuſed to anſwer ſome queries put to him by the Preſbytery of Glaſgow, although they aroſe from, and were founded upon, ſome writings given in by himſelf. This was debated before the Aſſembly, and rejected by them, as they would give no encouragement to inquiſitorial proceedings.

But, ſir, nothing can demonſtrate more clearly the iniquity of ſuch practices, than what happened not long ago in this very Preſbytery, which is but little known, but which I am able to bring to light. And after I have narrated it, I leave it to the judgment of the Synod, whether they will countenance with their authority any ſimilar practice in another caſe. When Mr. C—— was was preſented to the abbey church of Paiſley, there were ſome rumors raiſed, I know not how, as if he had been guilty of ſome practices tending to diſaffection. Theſe I may ſafely ſay, were not diſcouraged by the Preſbytery, but mentioned again and again in their minutes; and though the candidate inſiſted much upon a regular judgment upon the relevancy, and an enquiry, they ſtill ſhifted both, and inſtead thereof appointed a conference with him. And what think you were the queſtions they put to him to remove the ſcandal?—Where did you learn your Engliſh? and what miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church did you hear? Where did you learn your Latin? and in whoſe houſe did you ſtay? Did you ever go near the epiſcopal meeting-houſe all the time you were at the

profeſſion of divinity? Did Mr. H—— or Mr. R—, epiſcopal miniſters, recommend you to C——'s family? Did your father attend ordinances in the pariſh church, where he lived? Have you any near relations that are related to the miniſters of this church? We aſk this, ſay they, that we may know the diſpoſitions of your friends.—What could be the intention of theſe queſtions? what could be the effect of their being anſwered, one way or the other? Might not the moſt loyal man in Britain, be brought under an odium in this manner. I flatter myſelf I am of as untainted, unſuſpected loyalty, as any man in the Preſbytery of Paiſley; and yet I could not affirm that I had never lodged in a diſaffected perſon's houſe, nor had the friendſhip of any ſuch; nor that I never came near the epiſcopal meeting-houſe all the time I was at the profeſſion of divinity. And did not theſe gentlemen know that ſuch things were perfectly frivolous and irrelevant? Yes, ſir, they knew it well; but ſtill they ſerved their purpoſe of diſobliging that people, and infuſing jealouſies. And ſo they myſteriouſly expreſs themſelves in their anſwer to the reaſons of appeal, that there are ſuch unhappy circumſtances in the preſenter's character, as do not recommend him to the choice of this people. I will not ſay, ſir, that all I have above repreſented is now to be found in their regiſter; for they have a ſalutary art of expunging from their minutes any thing that is diſhonorable to themſelves: but this I will ſay, it actually happened, and a great deal more. And I dare ſay, if there be any epiſcopalian here preſent, he will inſtantly add to his litany, From ſuch Spaniſh preſbyterians, good Lord deliver us.

Thus, ſir, I hope I have made it appear, that the Preſbytery of Paiſley have been guilty of moſt irregular procedure, and flagrant injuſtice to me, in paſſing a ſentence upon my character, where they had no title to judge me; in finding a relevancy without examination of the ſubject, and when I could not be heard in my defence; and laſtly, in appointing an inquiſition for diſcovering the fact, directly in the face of law and equity.

I am ſorry I have detained the Synod ſo long, Sir, but could not poſſibly ſpeak to this involved, perplexed accu-

ſation in ſhorter time; and I hope the importance of the cauſe to me, will plead for ſome indulgence, and procure your attention for a very few minutes longer, and then I have done. Let me, Sir, ſpeak plainly out; whatever may be pretended about the intereſt of religion being concerned in the fate of this pamphlet, there is ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect that it is the credit of a party that is really at ſtake. We all know that there are very great differences of ſentiment among us, as to the government of the church; and it ſeems to be my misfortune, to be of oppoſite principles from ſeveral members of this preſbytery, on that point. This is the cauſe of my being charged with ill-nature and unpeaceableneſs. They themſelves, Sir, will not pretend to give any other inſtance of this temper; and I confeſs that as I reckon the glory of God, and the edification of his church to be deeply concerned in the cauſe, I am reſolved in his ſtrength, to maintain and ſupport it to the utmoſt of my power, ſo long as I draw breath; and if I have been a firebrand, as I have been ſometimes called, I wiſh I could anſwer the title, and burn their pernicious ſchemes even to aſhes. And, Sir, as in no other caſe have I ever diſcovered any keenneſs of temper, ſo I truſt, that even in this, I have neither diſcovered an overbearing pride, or perverſeneſs of temper, but have ſupported what I eſteemed to be truth, with reſolution, but without violence. I cannot pretend to the polite and courtly ſtyle, in the ſame degree with ſome of my oppoſers; yet have I endeavored to preſerve the meekneſs of a Chriſtian, believing that the wrath of man worketh not the righteouſneſs of God.—Now, Sir, I beg every wiſe and honeſt man of the other ſide of the queſtion, in our public differences, to determine ſeriouſly, whether he will approve of a preſbytery's making perſonal oppoſition, and becauſe a man is not in every reſpect, of their way of thinking, barring his ſettlement to the utmoſt of their power; and whether it be decent, or truly moderate, not only to rebuke, ſuſpend and deprive thoſe who cannot go with them; but as the very laſt effort of tyranny, to attempt to caſt out any who are but ſuſpected of debating the point in writing.

Farther, I beg every man in this houſe, to lay his hand upon his heart, and ſay this day, in his judgment, whether he will, in order to reach a man of a different party from himſelf, approve of going contrary to all form and law, and eſtabliſhing a precedent of inquiſition. However ſecure ſome may think themſelves and their party at preſent, there is ſuch an inſtability in all human things, that the engines which they prepare againſt others, may be directed againſt themſelves. I know a fear of this kind for the moſt part operates but weakly upon men's minds; becauſe the caſes that may afterwards caſt up, cannot be clearly diſcerned, being hidden in the darkneſs of futurity; but, Sir, he is the wiſeſt man, that acts with moſt prudence, and does not expoſe himſelf or his friends to the law of retaliation. This I ſpeak in perfect ſecurity, as to myſelf, for if the church ſhall find that interrogation is a proper way of enquiring into facts, it will but open to me a larger field of information; and though it come to the real merits of this cauſe, the trial of the relevancy of this crime objected to me will take up at leaſt ſeven years in proceſſes of various kinds.

To conclude, Sir, though I will never approve of, or give my conſent for eſtabliſhing a practice which I think unjuſt and tyrannical; yet as to my own caſe, I will even ſubmit to be interrogated by this very party upon this juſt, this ſelf-evidently juſt condition, that the miniſters of that Preſbytery do ſubmit themſelves to be interrogated by me in turn, on their doctrine—their diligence in paſtoral duty—their care and government of their families—and their perſonal truth. If they will yield to this, I will anſwer upon oath, either inſtantly, or upon a month's preparation, not only as to this point, but all that they ſhall think fit to aſk, as to my character, that can accuſe me, from my birth to this day. And if this condition be refuſed, the equity of their conduct, I leave to the judgment of this venerable Synod.

THE

DRUID,

Published in Numbers in a Periodical Publication of 1781.

NUMBER I.

SIR,

IT is my intention, by your permiſſion and aſſiſtance to attempt the inſtruction and entertainment of the public once a month, on miſcellaneous ſubjects. This letter ſhall ſerve as the firſt paper, and ſhall be an introduction to thoſe that are to follow, by pointing out the ſpirit and deſign of the undertaking, and the plan upon which it is to be conducted.

The title which I have aſſumed, was not intended to carry any wit in it, and indeed not much meaning, further than what is common to all names, the diſtinction of one thing or perſon from another. It proved a matter of no little difficulty to fix upon a title, after ſo great a variety as the world has ſeen ſince the practice of periodical eſſays was firſt introduced. After a good deal of deliberation on a matter of very little moment, the above was ſuggeſted, by the place which is now, and is likely to be, my reſidence while I continue on earth.

It is a ſmall but neat houſe, in a pleaſant, retired ſituation, ſurrounded with woods, in all the ſimple majeſty of their uncultivated ſtate. Neither was it unſuitable to my time of life, the age of fifty, a cool and contemplative ſeaſon, when men of education or buſineſs have generally ſeen as much of the world as ſatisfies their curioſity, and enables them to underſtand well enough what is paſſing in it; ſo that they have neither neceſſity nor inclination to mix again in its active ſcenes.

I was born and educated in Great Britain, and had all the advantage I could receive from a long reſidence in one of the moſt celebrated ſeats of learning in that happy kingdom. The prime and vigor of life I ſpent in the midſt of public buſineſs, and had a thorough knowledge of the greateſt part, and perſonal intimacy with not a few, of the perſons moſt diſtinguiſhed in rank, politics, or literature, for the laſt thirty years. From what circumſtances, or with what views, I came into this country, it is of no conſequence for the reader to know; ſuffice it therefore to ſay, that I was not tranſported by Sir John Fielding, but came of my own proper motion and free choice; and indeed have never met with any thing in paſſing through life, that could be ſuppoſed either to ſour the temper, or break the vigor of the mind. There are not a few who, towards the cloſe of life, acquire a ſettled hatred or contempt of mankind, and ſeem diſpoſed to avenge their own real or ſuppoſed calamities on the world in general, by the acrimony of their converſation, and the virulent ſatire of their writings. Productions dictated by ſuch a ſpirit, have often, it muſt be owned, ſuch a poignant ſeverity as deeply wounds the object of their reſentment, and yet, I think, ſeldom adds to the reliſh of thoſe for whom the entertainment is provided.

It has been generally ſuppoſed, that ſatire and invective is the way of writing, of all others, moſt agreeable to the public; and the reaſon given for it is very little to the credit of human nature, viz. The prevalence of envy and malignity in the bulk of mankind. Had I been of this opinion, I would have cautiouſly avoided introducing

the ſentiment, at leaſt ſo ſoon, as it would have been but a poor compliment to that very public, whoſe attention I mean to ſolicit, and whoſe improvement I wiſh to promote. I confeſs that a thorough knowledge of the world, and extenſive reading in hiſtory, have often produced mean thoughts of human nature. We ſee ſometimes old hackneyed politicians diſcover a jealouſy of the characters, and an indifference to the ſufferings, of others, which ſurpriſes and offends men of leſs experience, who are therefore often laughed at for their weakneſs. This, in ſome inſtances, is the miſtake of the obſerver, while the coolneſs and compoſure of ſpirit, the deliberate and ſelf-collected carriage, which is the effect of time, is falſely called a callous or unfeeling diſpoſition. But where the remark is juſt, and a real and general hatred of others has obtained full dominion, it would not be ſo decent to infer from it, that mankind are univerſally worthleſs or incorrigible, as to impute it to the ſelfiſh meanneſs of that heart, in which it had taken place.

It is very common for authors to go to an extreme on the one hand or on the other, in ſpeaking of human nature. Thoſe philoſophers who ſpeak of it in ſuch exalted terms as to contradict the truths of religion, have preſent experience and the hiſtory of paſt ages directly againſt them. The moſt illuſtrious perſons in the records of time, have derived the greateſt part of their luſtre itſelf, either from the ſingularity of their character, or, which is nearly the ſame thing, from the depravity of others, who needed their aſſiſtance for inſtruction or correction. It was ſmartly, at leaſt, if not juſtly ſaid, by an author not many years ago, that the wiſdom of legiſlators, and admirable policy of ſtates, and even the purity of moral precepts, are juſt ſuch arguments for the dignity of human nature as gibbets are. There is, doubtleſs, no ſmall degree of error, ignorance, prejudice and corruption to be found among men; but theſe, when properly viewed, ſerve rather to demonſtrate the importance and neceſſity of information and inſtruction. There are not only particular inſtances in which the human mind has diſcovered the moſt exalted virtue as well as amazing pow-

ers ; but the human race in general, with all its defects, is certainly the nobleſt and moſt valuable in this lower world, and therefore the moſt worthy of cultivation. To this may be added, that there is no circumſtance in which there is a more manifeſt diſtinction between man and the inferior creatures, than that the individual is more helpleſs as well as the kind more noble ; and therefore the intercourſe of ſociety and mutual aſſiſtance is abſolutely neceſſary to his improvement and perfection.

But this is perhaps treating the ſubject in too abſtract and philoſophical a manner, which I well know is not much to the taſte of the preſent age. The importance of knowledge, and the power of intellectual light, will be readily confeſſed. The queſtions to be ſeriouſly debated with himſelf by an author, at his firſt ſetting out, are, What encouragement he has to devote himſelf to the public ſervice ? and, what reaſon to think he hath any thing to communicate that is worthy of the public attention ? Now, as to the *first* of theſe, it is my opinion, that though error, prejudice, and partiality, are very univerſal, that is to ſay, they have place in ſome degree in many perſons of every rank, age, and country ; yet their influence in each has, properly ſpeaking, but a narrow ſphere. Truth is much ſtronger than them all. They ſhew themſelves chiefly in the ſmaller intereſts of particulars ; but there is a candor and impartiality in a diffuſive public, which may be in a great meaſure depended upon, and which will both hear truth and obey it. There is not perhaps a man in that public, but has many prejudices and prepoſſeſſions ; but theſe are confined within certain bounds like the ſphere of attraction of particular bodies, round himſelf : when you go beyond that ſphere, they are not felt, or they are felt very weakly. There is an obſervation I have ſometimes made, which I do not remember to have read in any author, but which, if juſt, ſhould teach every man to revere the public judgment. The remark is, that I can ſcarcely recollect any perſon well and intimately known to me, whoſe performances, either in ſpeaking or writing, had been exhibited to the world for any time, of whoſe talents and erudition the great plu-

rality did not judge exactly in the same manner that I did myself. If they do justice to every other person, why should I doubt their doing it to me? Ignorance, prejudice malice, or accident, may have some influence at first; but their effects are merely temporary, and are speedily effaced. Time is a diligent enquirer, and a just judge. I could almost say the same thing of a man's moral character, under two exceptions: If you go beyond the bounds of local politics, and abstract entirely from religious differences, every man is spoken of pretty nearly as he deserves. I am sufficiently aware that there are particular exceptions to this general theory, but I have not now time to enter upon them; and therefore shall leave them till they fall in my way in the discussion of such subjects as shall be undertaken in my future papers.

As to the *second* point, whether I have any thing to communicate that is worthy of the public attention? It is plain from the appearance of this paper, that I have already judged of it so far as to make the attempt; it is therefore too late for me, and too early for the reader, to take that matter into consideration. I shall, however mention briefly the plan which I mean to follow. The general subject of these papers shall be the philosophy of human nature and of human life; I would willingly join science and reflection to experience and observation. Literature and morals, arts and industry, shall be my chief themes; and under one or other of these, every thing may be introduced, that can in the least contribute to the happiness of social or private life. I must beg the reader to observe, that in handling all these subjects, I shall have a particular view to the state and interest of this rising country. As in youth the human frame wears its loveliest form; as the spring is the most charming season of the revolving year: so, a country newly planted, and every day advancing to a maturer state, affords the highest delight to a contemplative philosopher, and is, at the same time, the strongest invitation to activity and usefulness.

I am sensible that some will think the present an improper season for beginning on so extensive a plan. They will say the time calls not for speculation but action. Our in-

duſtry is now all turned into one channel, the vigorous exertion of the ſpirit of defence. When liberty, property and life are at ſtake, we muſt not think of being ſcholars, but ſoldiers. When happy peace returns we ſhall be able to apply with proper attention and vigor to the improvement of our minds, as well as to the cultivation of the ſoil; till then we have other work upon our hands. I muſt inform the reader that theſe are miſtaken reflections. There is ſuch a connection among all the arts that improve or embelliſh human nature, that they are beſt promoted in conjunction, and generally go in a body. As I look without ſolicitude, or rather with unſhaken confidence of ſucceſs, on the preſent glorious and important ſtruggle for the liberties of mankind; ſo I conſider it as a proper ſeaſon for the moſt ardent application to the improvement of this country in all reſpects. In times of public commotion the human mind is rouſed, and ſhakes off the incumbrances of ſloth and ſelf-indulgence. Thoſe who put on the harneſs and go into the field, muſt be encouraged, aſſiſted, and even ſupported, by the activity and induſtry of thoſe who remain at home. Beſides, I am much miſtaken if the time is not juſt at hand, when there ſhall be greater need than ever in America, for the moſt accurate diſcuſſion of the principles of ſociety, the rights of nations, and the policy of ſtates; all which ſhall have a place in the ſubſequent numbers of this paper. But above all, can it ever be unſeaſonable to lay before the public what tends to improve the temper and morals of the reader, which ſhall be the ultimate object of all my diſquiſitions? He who makes a people *virtuous*, makes them *invincible*.

The reader will now, in ſome degree, underſtand the deſign and extent of this undertaking. As to wit and humor, I chooſe to make no promiſes upon that head, leſt I ſhould break them. Moſt people, perhaps, differ from me; but I confeſs I would rather read a tedious argument than a dull joke. Yet the favors of the ingenious, as the ſaying is (poſt paid) may perhaps enable me ſometimes to gratify a reader of taſte; only I muſt take the liberty of being pleaſed myſelf firſt, other-

wife they ſhall ſleep with me, or return to the authors. Some, perhaps, will wonder that I have ſaid nothing of the delightful themes of love and gallantry, eſpecially as it is ſo eaſy to eſtabliſh a connection between the tender paſſion and military glory. The younger claſs of my readers may reſt ſatisfied that they ſhall not want good advice enough, which may be applied to that and to every other ſubject; but I do not take myſelf to be qualified to paint the ardors of a glowing flame. I have not ſeen any killing eyes theſe ſeveral years. It was but yeſterday, that I ſmiled involuntarily on reading a poem in your laſt magazine, ſetting forth, that both Beauty and Wiſdom had taken up their reſidence with a certain nymph, the one in her cheek, the other in her tongue, and that they were reſolved never to depart; which I thought was a little unfortunate for all the reſt of the x. I wiſh every Strephon and Daphne heartily well, and that the exalted and rapturous phraſes of Arcadia may be ſoon brought down to the compoſed diſcourſe of a quiet man and wife in Philadelphia; in which character, perhaps they may ſometimes hear from me, I hope, to their great benefit.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

THE DRUID.

NUMBER II.

SIR,

WHEN I firſt came into this country, nothing was farther from my expectation than the conteſt that has now taken place between Great-Britain and the Colonies. The reader, I ſuppoſe, will alſo readily believe me when I affirm, that what relates to

this important ſtruggle, made but a ſmall part of the matter I had meditated and digeſted for the ſubject of theſe diſſertations. But, from ſome letters which I have received, and much converſation that I have heard, it appears plain, that ſomething of this kind is expected from me, and that if it is long with-held, it will be difficult to avoid ſuſpicion from the warmer ſons of liberty. It is not eaſy to determine what branches of this great argument it would be beſt to take up, as moſt ſuitable to a ſpeculative philoſopher, and at the ſame time moſt neceſſary or uſeful to the bulk of my readers. The natural rights of mankind, and the cauſe of liberty in general, have been explained and defended in innumerable treatiſes, ancient and modern. The application of theſe principles to the American controverſy, has been made by many writers among us, with the greateſt clearneſs and preciſion. The nature of government, and method of balancing a civil conſtitution, I cannot ſay has been handled either with ſo much fulneſs or propriety as the other topics; yet on this alſo many excellent obſervations have been made. If it has not been much reaſoned on, it ſeems nevertheleſs to be both felt and underſtood in almoſt every corner of this continent.

Leaving, therefore, theſe ſubjects for the preſent, as we are yet engaged in a war ſomewhat ſingular in its nature, important in its conſequences, and uncertain in its duration, I ſhall beg leave to make ſome remarks as a ſcholar, and as a citizen of the world, on *the manner of carrying on war*. By this is not meant to lay down a plan of diſcipline, or tactics for an army, or of ſtratagems and manœuvres for a general or inferior leader; but to conſider by what means wars of different kinds may be carried on, conſiſtently with reaſon, conſcience, or common utility. Every body muſt have obſerved how frequently the newſpapers have been filled with complaints of our enemies, as acting ſavagely and barbarouſly—as being guilty of unnatural cruelty—as carrying on a felonious and piratical war—as acting contrary to the laws of war. I have, however, taken notice, that among all theſe diſſertations little or nothing has been ſaid to ſhew

why they have acted barbarously, further than that they have acted unjustly in being our enemies at all. No one has told us what are the laws of war, or endeavored to make us understand when enemies may be said to act a fair and honorable, and when a dastardly and cruel part.

This subject I shall now therefore enter upon; and will endeavor to handle it with as much simplicity as possible, that it may be useful to persons of the lowest rank, and most common understanding. Let me trace it to its source. Wherever society exists, founded upon clear established laws, this obliges us to form an idea of a state previous to the formation of society, or before such or any laws were made and acknowledged to be in force. This is called a state of nature. I do not enter into the innumerable questions upon this subject; as, how long it could continue, when men increased in number? Whether it is a state of war or peace? Whether inclination prompted, or necessity compelled, men to enter into society? It is sufficient for my purpose, to observe, that independent nations are in a state of natural liberty with respect to one another, or as man to man previous to the social compact. When they disagree, they have no common umpire or judge to resort to, but must decide their quarrels by the sword. The questions then to be resolved are three: 1. Are there any laws at all by which they are bound? or, are all kinds of force or violence equally just? 2. If not, what is the law? what is it that makes the distinction? and, 3. what is the sanction of the law? To whom shall we complain when it is broken?

If there is any such law, it is certainly very justly denominated, by civilians, *the law of nature and nations.* Of nature, because its principles are to be derived from the state of natural or universal liberty, and personal independence; and of nations, because there is no person in such a state at present, excepting nations, or large bodies, who consider themselves as independent of each other. Now, that there is such a law, I think is evident, not only from the universal acknowledgment of men, and the practice of nations from the earliest ages, but from

the nature of the thing. If there are any duties binding upon men to each other, in a ſtate of natural liberty, the ſame are due from nation to nation. Bodies politic do not in this circumſtance, differ from individuals. The ſame anſwer muſt be made to the ſecond queſtion. It is impoſſible to mention any right that an individual may juſtly claim, either as to perſon or property, from his fellow men, but a ſociety has the like claim upon any other ſociety. Their perſons muſt not be aſſaulted, nor their property invaded. The ſingle purpoſe of ſociety, indeed, is to protect the individual, and to give him the ſtrength of the public arm, in defence of his juſt and natural right.

But it will be aſked, in the third place, What is the ſanction of this law? and who is to call the offender to account? To this I anſwer, That the ſanction of the law of nature is nothing elſe but a ſenſe of duty, and accountableneſs to the Supreme Judge; to which may be added, ſuch a ſenſe of general utility, as makes men fear, that if they notoriouſly trample upon it, reproach and infamy among all nations will be the effect, and probably reſentment and indignation by common conſent. Agreeably to this, having recourſe to force is often called an appeal to Heaven, and it is, at the ſame time, generally accompanied with an attempt, by ſome public declaration, to convince other nations of the juſtice of the cauſe.

Omitting many things that are not connected with the point I have in view, particularly without enumerating the legitimate cauſes of war; but ſuppoſing nations engaged in a war, which they believe on both ſides to be juſt, let us aſk, What are the means by which this war is to be carried on? The firſt and moſt obvious anſwer is, By all manner of force or open violence; and the moſt able warrior is preſumed to be the one that can invent weapons the moſt deadly and deſtructive. It is admitted alſo on all hands, that force may be uſed, not only againſt the perſons and goods of rulers, but of every member of the hoſtile ſtate. This may ſeem hard, that innocent ſubjects of a ſtate ſhould ſuffer for the folly and indiſcretion of the rulers, or of other members of the ſame ſtate. But it is often unavoidable. The whole individuals that compoſe a ſtate,

are conſidered but as one body. It would be impoſſible for an enemy to diſtinguiſh the guilty from the innocent. When men ſubmit to a government, they riſk their own perſons and poſſeſſions in the ſame bottom with the whole, in return for the benefits of ſociety.

Upon this principle, open violence may be ſaid to have no bounds, and every method that can be invented to ſend deſtruction and miſery to any part of the hoſtile ſtate, may be thought to be permitted. But upon the principles of general equity, and the conſent and practice of modern times, acts of cruelty and inhumanity, are to be blamed, and to be conſidered as a violation of the law of nations. Many of them might be eaſily enumerated, ſuch as refuſing quarter to thoſe who ſubmit, killing priſoners when they might be kept without any danger, killing women and children, inventing methods of torture, burning and deſtroying every thing that might be of uſe in life. The uſe of poiſoned weapons alſo has been generally condemned, as well as the poiſoning of ſprings and proviſions.

The celebrated Dr. Robertſon of Edinburgh, in a ſermon before the ſociety for propagating Chriſtian knowledge, has made an obſervation to this purpoſe, "that to "the honor of modern times, and (as he thinks) particu- "larly to the honor of Chriſtianity itſelf, there is much "more gentleneſs and humanity in the manner of car- "rying on war than formerly." If we look into ancient hiſtory we ſhall ſee ſuch inſtances of ferocity and cruelty in many caſes, as are too ſhocking to be related. There is no fact, however, in the records of antiquity on this ſubject, that ever ſtruck me ſo much as the account given of Seſoſtris, becauſe it ſhews, not the barbarity of a particular monſter, but the ſpirit of the times. He is extolled by many ancient authors for his clemency, becauſe he did not put to death, the princes whom he unjuſtly attacked and conquered. Yet he ordered them to wait upon him, with a yearly tribute, and on theſe occaſions uſed to yoke them in his chariot, and make them draw him, in place of horſes, to the temple. How much worſe than death would this appear at preſent to a captive prince?

But however juſtly praiſe may be due to modern times for comparative humanity, what we have ſaid above is only general and undefined. Let us ſeek for the true principle that ought to govern the conduct of refined and enlightened nations. This, if I miſtake not, is, *That all acts of cruelty which have no tendency to weaken the resisting force, are contrary to reason and religion, and therefore to the law of nature and nations.* The end of war is to obtain juſtice, and reſtore peace, therefore whatever tends to leſſen or deſtroy the force of the enemy, muſt be permitted. It is in this view alone that the capture of private property is allowed and juſtified. But to take lives without neceſſity, and even to treat priſoners with oppreſſion or inſult, above all to diſtreſs or torture the weaker ſex, or the helpleſs infant, ought to be deteſted by every nation profeſſing the goſpel.

The principle which I have laid down, may be applied univerſally, and will ſerve to point out when any meaſure is to be juſtified or condemned between perſons profeſſing open hoſtility againſt each other. I will take the liberty to apply it to ſome things that have been done or attempted in the preſent war, carried on by Great-Britain againſt America. It is now undeniable that endeavors have been uſed to bring the Indian tribes upon the back ſettlements. This I call an act of extreme and unjuſtifiable barbarity, becauſe their manner of making war is well known. They are neither formidable for their number nor their ſtrength, but for making inroads upon the dwellings of their enemies, and putting to death women and children, with circumſtances of horrid cruelty. This is ſo far from weakening the force of the people againſt whom it is practiſed, that it tends to inſpire them with a revenge and fury not to be reſiſted. The well known hiſtory of the late war, will both explain and ſupport what I have ſaid. The cruelty of the Indians produced ſuch a ſpirit in the back ſettlers, which not only repelled their attacks, but in ſome inſtances retaliated their injuries, in a manner that I will not take upon me either to defend or excuſe. Therefore, when we blame the Britiſh miniſtry for ſtirring up the Indians againſt us, we do not blame them for aſking

aſſiſtance from other nations, which is common in all wars, when any party apprehends itſelf weak, but for a method of attack, the cruelty of which bears no proportion to any advantage that can be derived from it.

The ſame thing I ſay of proclaiming liberty to ſlaves, and ſtirring them up to rebel againſt their maſters. There is, however, ſome little difference in the application of the principle to this and the preceding inſtance. It is probable that the people in Great-Britain reckoned upon a degree of advantage from this meaſure, vaſtly ſuperior not only to what it produced in effect, but to what they themſelves expected from the incurſions of the Indians. I gather this from an expreſſion in a treatiſe publiſhed in England on the American controverſy, to this purpoſe, that, 'if England declare freedom to the ſlaves, they (the Americans) have not ſix weeks to be a people.' Theſe apprehenſions may be thought to juſtify them in the attempt, as they muſt have taken it to be ſo ſpeedy and effectual a means of producing abſolute ſubmiſſion. But I muſt obſerve, in addition to what I have ſaid above, that there are ſome things ſo baſe and treacherous in their nature, and ſo pernicious in the example to human ſociety in general, that whatever effect they might be ſuppoſed to have in a particular caſe, all men of liberal minds have concurred in rejecting them. For example, though it is generally agreed that aiming particularly at the life of a leader in battle, is not only lawful but prudent, as it is of more conſequence than fifty others, yet to ſuborn his ſervants to aſſaſſinate him privately, though it might have the ſame effect upon the military operations, is univerſally condemned. An inſtance in hiſtory occurs to me, in which a meaſure, though likely to have a great influence in weakening the enemy, yet, for its extreme cruelty, deſerves to be ſpoken of with horror. It was that of king James VII's general at the ſiege of Londonderry, 1689, who, when the garriſon was reduced to extremity for want of proviſions, drove all the proteſtants within thirty miles, chiefly old men, women and infants, under the walls of the city, to be either taken in, or ſuffered to periſh with hunger under the eyes of their friends. Had this meaſure

been ſucceſsful, it would have been, notwithſtanding, condemned as unjuſt; but I am happy in being able to obſerve, that acts of extreme cruelty do very ſeldom produce the effects intended by them. When a certain point is exceeded, fear itſelf is converted into rage, and produces the unexpected and incredible efforts of deſpair.

The principle I have above laid down, will alſo enable us to judge what opinion we ſhould form of acts of violence and depredation. When an army can avail itſelf of the goods and property of the members of a hoſtile ſtate, or probably reduce them to the neceſſity of making peace, not only the ſeizure but the reduction of both may be juſtified upon the principles of reaſon. But when men can only deſtroy and not poſſeſs, and that deſtruction can only fall upon an inconſiderable number of helpleſs people, it is at once inconſiſtent with greatneſs of mind, and for the moſt part againſt the intereſt of the deſtroyer. It operates as an inflammatory principle, and calls up every man, from the ſtrongeſt to the feebleſt, to aſſiſt in repelling or puniſhing the ſavage invader. For this reaſon I give it as my opinion, that burning and deſtroying houſes, where there is no fortreſs, as has been in ſome inſtances done, deſerves all the epithets of barbarous, ſavage and inhuman, that have been beſtowed upon it, either by thoſe who have ſuffered, or thoſe who have felt in their behalf.

A few more reflections ſhould have been added upon wars differently circumſtanced, and particularly upon civil wars; but they muſt be referred to the next or ſome future paper.

NUMBER III.

SIR,

MY laſt paper was employed in examining what is the radical principle, according to the law of nature and nations, for determining *the just and lawful means* of carrying on war. Having left the ſubject unfiniſhed, I will now add what ſeems further neceſſary upon it. The chief and moſt remarkable diſtinction of wars to be found in civilians, is into what they call *foreign* and *civil* wars. By the firſt are to be underſtood, wars between nations confeſſed on both ſides to be ſeparate and independent. By the ſecond, wars between different parts of the ſame ſtate. The firſt are ſuppoſed to ariſe from ſome occaſional injury or partial encroachment, and to have for their end the reparation of the wrong, and the reſtoration of ſecurity and peace. The ſecond, in which one part of the ſubjects of a ſtate riſes againſt another, are much more various, both in their cauſes and ends, although the rulers of every ſtate generally affect to conſider them all as of the ſame nature, and belonging to the ſame claſs. The light in which they wiſh them to be viewed is, as an inſurrection of diſorderly citizens againſt law and order in general, and therefore as including the greateſt crime that can be committed againſt ſociety, and deſerving the ſevereſt puniſhment. This is the true and proper import of the laws againſt treaſon in any country, and if the object on which they take hold is really ſuch as they deſcribe, no fault can be found with their ſeverity. He who breaks the public peace, and attempts to ſubvert the order of the ſociety of which he is a member, is guilty of the greateſt crime againſt every other member, by robbing him of a bleſſing of the greateſt value in itſelf, as well as eſſentially neceſſary to the poſſeſſion of every other.

For this reaſon it is that in civil wars one party takes upon itſelf to be on the ſide of order and good government, and conſiders every perſon of the oppoſing band,

not as a citizen contending for the ſuppoſed rights of his own ſtate, but as a felon and a criminal breaking the law of God and man, and if ſubdued and taken, deſtined to public, ignominious, legal puniſhment. But let us conſider a little the cauſes and circumſtances of civil wars, as they have appeared in hiſtory. Some have doubtleſs been of the kind above deſcribed, and which the law in general preſumes; but if they have been numerous, they have hardly ever been formidable. Inſurrections of profligate or even miſtaken citizens have generally been local, and occaſioned by ſome circumſtances that do not affect the whole body of an empire, and therefore have been eaſily ſuppreſſed. Many of the civil wars which have torn and diſtracted great empires, have ariſen from the ambition and turbulence of particular men, contending for power and influence in the adminiſtration of government. Such were the wars of Sylla and Marius, Cæſar and Pompey, in the Roman republic; in which, though the partiſans on both ſides were certainly criminal, yet, at the ſame time, they were equally ſo. We may place in the ſame rank, the civil wars in England and France, which were ſo long in the one country, and ſo bloody in both, about the ſucceſſion to the crown. In theſe wars, the principle on which they were waged, was fundamentally wrong, viz. that there was a claim of right in one family or perſon, which entitled them to authority, diſtinct from common conſent, or the general good. But this principle was the ſame to both parties; many perſons of equal honor and truth embraced the oppoſite ſides of the queſtion; and we can perceive no difference at all between them, in point of merit or demerit towards the ſociety. If one contends for the uncle, and the other for the nephew, to be king, or the poſterity of each many generations diſtant, and a bloody war muſt decide the queſtion, little other reflection can occur to a conſiderate man, than to pity the weakneſs of human nature.

There remains another claſs of civil wars, in which a part or the great body of a monarchy or republic reſiſt the authority of their rulers, on pretence that they are ſuffering under oppreſſion. They do this ſometimes with

a view to redreſs their grievances, and ſometimes to ſubvert their government altogether as inſupportable, and re-ſettle it upon a new foundation. It alſo frequently happens that it begins with the firſt of theſe, and in the courſe of the quarrel find or think it neceſſary to end with the laſt. There are many wars of this kind upon record, ſome of which have been ſucceſsful, and others not. If they have been ſucceſsful, hiſtory dignifies them with the name of Revolution; and if otherwiſe, they muſt bear that of rebellion. Their ſucceſs, however, is no certain criterion of their juſtice. The civil war in England of the laſt century, which bears the name of the grand rebellion, and late vigorous conteſt of the Corſicans againſt the republic of Genoa, though they were ſold into ſlavery, were as honorable in the principles, as the ſucceſsful reſiſtance of the Seven United Provinces to the king of Spain, or the efforts of the Engliſh nation at that period which we have now agreed to call the *glorious revolution.*

Let us apply theſe remarks to the ſubject of our preſent enquiry, the means and manner of carrying on war. In fact, it has always been found that civil wars have been carried on with a rage and animoſity much greater than thoſe of independent nations. Acts of cruelty have been much more frequent while they laſted; and after peace has taken place, the alienation of mind and inward reſentment has been much greater and of longer continuance. The barbarity of the Syllan and Marian factions to each other in Rome, as well as the proſcription of the two ſubſequent triumvirates of that ſtate, were ſo horrible that it is difficult to conceive how human nature could be brought to ſuch an unfeeling and hardened a temper, as to give or execute the bloody orders. As ſoon as a war between independent nations ceaſes, the wound is perfectly healed, and particular perſons of theſe nations do not retain the leaſt degree of reſentment againſt each other. It is quite otherwiſe in civil wars. They often give a name and character to the different factions, which is not obliterated for many generations. Whig and Tory are names by which perſons and families are ſtill diſtinguiſhed in England, although they are both of great anti-

quity, and the firſt of them more than a hundred years old

Whenever any effect is general and conſtant, there muſt be ſome ſuitable and permanent cauſe or cauſes for it. It may not therefore be amiſs, either in a philoſophical or a moral view, to examine the cauſes of this phenomenon in political life. One cauſe may be aſſigned for it which is very general, but which will perfectly apply to this, as well as to every other kind of ſtriſe. The greater the injury that is done, and the ſtronger the obligation to friendſhip that are broken through, the deeper the reſentment that is felt by a ſenſible mind. Now, it is certain that to diſturb the internal peace of a ſtate by a civil war, is a much more dreadful evil, and touches the people more univerſally, than war with a foreign kingdom. Beſides injuries done, or ſuppoſed to be done, by thoſe with whom we are nearly connected, and from whom we expected every act of friendſhip, wound more deeply than thoſe done by ſtrangers or perſons unknown. This is ſo generally true, that differences between near relations, if they come to a certain height, and are publicly known, are ſcarcely ever thoroughly reconciled. They may be apparently or imperfectly taken away, the ſore may be ſkinned over, but it ſtill rankles at bottom, and upon the ſlighteſt touch is ready to break out anew.

Another cauſe which may be aſſigned for the barbarity exerciſed in civil wars, is the hateful or contemptible idea which the one ſide, at leaſt, often entertains of the other. It is a fine obſervation of a moral writer of the laſt age, "If you want to be wholly free from the guilt of injury, oppreſſion or ſlander, you muſt take care what you *think* of others, for it is certain that your treatment of them will be according to the opinion you have formed of their character and merit." This remark is perfectly juſt: for if once a man allow himſelf to hate another heartily, there is no anſwering for what he will do to him, nor is the natural humanity of his diſpoſition the leaſt ſecurity againſt his goinſt to exceſs. Perſons of the gentleſt nature and the ſofteſt ſex, when completely enraged have been guilty of the moſt horrid cruelty. This is commonly accounted

for by the mixture of fear and hatred. But if another ingredient is added to the compoſition, it will be yet more powerful, I mean contempt. Some may think that fear and contempt are inconſiſtent, but this is a miſtake. You cannot fear the ſtrength of an enemy and deſpiſe it at the ſame time; but you may eaſily fear his ſtrength and malice, and deſpiſe his character. If therefore you join all theſe together, fear, hatred and contempt towards an enemy, it will not be wonderful if the treatment he receives is unmerciful or unjuſt. This is often the caſe in civil wars. Thoſe who are on the ſide of government are apt to form the moſt unjuſt as well as deſpicable ideas of their opponents, and never to ſpeak of them but in the moſt opprobrious terms. By this they are naturally led to behave towards them with inhumanity, and ſometimes in their correſpondence they will ſcarce conſider themſelves as upon an equality, or be bound by the laws of ſincerity and truth.

I could illuſtrate the influence of character, and the opinion we entertain of others, on our conduct toward them, by many inſtances in hiſtory. It is the true and genuine ſource of the Roman Catholics not keeping faith with heretics. This their enemies charge them with as an avowed principle, which they deny. But that they have acted agreeably to it is fact, the example of John Huſs of Bohemia, and ſeveral others, put it beyond all queſtion. It is alſo the true cauſe of the cruelty of the inquiſition, commonly called the bloody Tribunal. Nothing is more common than to conſider the miniſters of this court as monſters diveſted of every feeling of humanity, and ſo to lay three fourths of the blame upon the perſonal character, whereas in truth, it ought to be wholly imputed to the power of bigotry and falſe zeal. When once a perſon is believed to be an enemy to God, and meriting his utmoſt vengeance, it is not wonderful that men ſhould co-operate with him, and inflict that little part of it that is in their power. It is not ſo properly ſuffering in itſelf, as the innocence of the ſufferer, or the diſproportion of the ſuffering to the crime, that excites our compaſſion. When crimes are very atrocious, we ſometimes feel, and in ſome degree

regret, the weakneſs of human vengeance, which cannot poſſibly give them their due. I can recollect ſeveral inſtances of criminals, on whoſe condemnation not one but many would ſay, "he deſerves, if it were poſſible, a thouſand deaths."

But now let me draw this diſſertation to a concluſion, or, as divines would ſay, to the application. It is eaſy to ſee, from the above principles, what are the dictates of truth and juſtice as to the manner of carrying on civil wars. There is but one claſs of them in which the behavior ſhould be different from the practice that prevails in wars with independent ſtates; I mean when tumultuous and diſorderly citizens attempt to ſubvert law and order altogether. But when the grounds of the quarrel are plauſible on both ſides, and when it is demonſtrable that perſons of the ſtricteſt honor and integrity may be found adhering to the oppoſite parties, they are bound by every tie to candor in judgment, humanity and mercy in their conduct towards each other. Happily we often ſee the parties in ſuch wars compelled to humanity through ſelf-intereſt, and reſtrained by fear of one of the juſteſt of all laws, that of retaliation. I could wiſh, however, that a ſenſe of duty ſhould be added to this obligation; for neither neceſſity nor even inclination is ſo ſtable and powerful a principle of action, as reaſon and truth impreſſed on the conſcience. Neceſſity does not always ſeem equally ſtrong, and the impulſe of natural affection is tranſient and changeable; but that which we conſider as eſſential to our duty, we ſhall adhere to without the aſſiſtance of either, and ought to do it even in oppoſition to both.

I do truly think myſelf in my preſent retirement (begging the reader's pardon) not ill qualified, in point of impartiality, for handling this ſubject, and applying it to the preſent conteſt between Great-Britain and America. I am paſt the age of bearing arms, and whatever I have done before, ſhall probably never again wield any other weapon, than thoſe improperly ſo called, the tongue and the pen. I do clearly ſee the perfect juſtice and great importance of the claim on the one hand, and eaſily conceive the power of prejudice on the other. On the part of America, there

was not the moſt diſtant thought of ſubverting the government, or hurting the intereſt of the people of Great-Britain, but of defending their own privileges from unjuſt encroachment; there was not the leaſt deſire of withdrawing their allegiance from the common ſovereign, till it became abſolutely neceſſary, and indeed was his own choice: On the other hand, I can eaſily conceive that thoſe who have been long accuſtomed to ſubjection, and from whom it is really due, ſhould not ſuddenly enter into the reaſons of exempting a people otherwiſe ſituated from the ſame burden. They are therefore of courſe eaſily deceived by falſe or imperfect accounts of a diſtant country, and inſenſibly biaſſed by the phraſeology conſtantly uſed, particularly the terms rebels and rebellion. Upon the whole, as I am now to diſmiſs this ſubject, and proſecute the plan laid down in my firſt number, I ſhall conclude with ſaying, That humanity is the nobleſt attendant on true valor; and that he will probably fight moſt bravely, who never fights till it is neceſſary, and ceaſes to fight as ſoon as the neceſſity is over.

NUMBER IV.

SIR,

ONE of the greateſt difficulties that occurs to writers of miſcellaneous eſſays, and which has been often complained of, is the fixing upon proper ſubjects. We are confined, as a certain writer obſerves, to 'human nature and life,' and yet theſe have been ſo completely ranſacked, and almoſt every character and occurrence has been placed in ſuch a variety of lights, that it is hardly poſſible to find a corner that is wholly untouched. At the ſame time, as to the manner of writing, the reader generally expects two things that ſeem to be incompatible and mutually deſtructive of each other. The one is, that it be ſtriking and original; and the other, that it be ſimple, natural and obvious. If we ſay what any body might ſay, then it is a trite, beaten, common-place, hackneyed topic; and if we ſay what would not readily occur to others, then it is a forced, unnatural, *out of the way* manner of thinking and writing, than which there cannot be a greater diſparagement of either writer or ſpeaker, nor any that will more ſpeedily or effectually prevent his ſucceſs. But notwithſtanding this apparent hardſhip, there is a real juſtice in the expectation of the public in both reſpects, when rightly underſtood. A writer's ſentiments ſhould be properly his own, and yet they ſhould not be too much repugnant to other people's. And as one man's face is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from that of every other, though the general features are the ſame in all, he may preſerve his genuine character without going far *out of the way*, or aiming at any thing odd or particular for this purpoſe. I know not how it is with others, but for my own part, I would rather write on a ſubject that has been often handled, or a character that has been often deſcribed, than one of a contrary kind; becauſe, in ſuch caſes I can form my own ſentiments with greater preciſion, and expreſs them with greater perſpicuity and force.

The reader may conſider the above as an introduction, preface, or, if he pleaſes, apology for the following diſſertation, which ſhall have for its ſubject a certain human character or quality, generally called *plain common ſenſe.* I muſt, in the firſt place, ſettle the meaning of the expreſſion. There are in every language, certain fine or nice diſtinctions in the uſe both of phraſes and ſingle terms, which, though introduced and finally ſettled by general practice, are not always attended to or fully underſtood. In the caſe before us, I think, the term is uſed very differently in the negative, from what it is in the poſitive form. When we ſay of a man, that he *wants common ſenſe*, we mean that he is a very great fool, and ſometimes that he is the next thing to a changeling or ideot. But when, in the poſitive form, we ſay of a man, that he is a man of *plain common ſenſe*, we give him a good character, and are underſtood by it as affirming that there are not many ſuperior or equal to him in that particular, as alſo that he poſſeſſes a quality of no inconſiderable value. It is plain, that in theſe two ways of ſpeaking, the term common ſenſe ſtands for different things. In the firſt of them it ſignifies, that ſenſe that is really common to all men, or at leaſt nearly univerſal: in the ſecond it ſignifies either ſomething totally different, or at leaſt a degree of that ſenſe which is not poſſeſſed by the plurality, but perhaps is called common, becauſe it may be found in ſome perſons of every rank.

Let me now enquire a little into the characters of common ſenſe. It is *the gift of nature*, and may be clearly diſtinguiſhed from what is acquired by ſtudy or application. In the Thoughts on various Subjects, by Swift and Pope, we have one to this purpoſe, that ‘ fine ſenſe is not half ſo uſeful as common ſenſe, for he that has the one without the other, is like one that carries nothing about him but gold coin, who muſt be often at a loſs for want of change.’ In another of theſe thoughts we are informed, ‘ that to attempt to move the multitude with fine ſenſe, is like attempting to hew a block with a razor.’ With all reſpect to theſe great men, I muſt ſay, that though there is ſomething ſmart and lively in the above recited ſenti-

ments, yet they are more brilliant than juſt; they ſeem to ſuppoſe, that refinement is a thing of the ſame kind with common ſenſe, and only higher in degree, and yet at the ſame time that a man may poſſeſs genuine refinement and be without common ſenſe, neither of which, in my opinion, is true, at leaſt in ſuch a ſenſe as to make their ſimilitudes juſt, or their reaſoning concluſive. Refinement is as different from common ſenſe as the culture is from the ſoil, or the climate from either; but as their joint influence is neceſſary to the production of the crop, ſo fine ſenſe, without common ſenſe as its ground-work and foundation, very ill deſerves the name. If I ſaw a man attempting to hew a block with a razor, or heard him ſpeaking in metaphyſical, abſtract, unintelligible terms, to a multitude of common people, I ſhould heartily agree that he wanted common ſenſe; but that he poſſeſſed fine ſenſe, I ſhould not be eaſily brought to confeſs.

The uſe of ſcientific terms and ſentiments, brought from what is known only to ſcholars and improperly introduced, has been long treated with the contempt it deſerves; but it is conſidered as belonging only to the learned poſſeſſors. I was well acquainted with a divine many years ago, who began a prayer in his congregation with theſe words, 'O Lord, thou art the ſimpleſt of all beings,' which incenſed his hearers againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they accuſed him of having ſpoken blaſphemy; whereas the poor man only meant to ſay, that God was philoſophically ſimple and uncompounded, altogether different from the groſſneſs, diviſibility, or, as it is ſometimes more learnedly called, the diſcerpibility of matter. I was alſo acquainted with a phyſician, who, ſitting with a lady in her own houſe, and being aſked by her, 'Doctor, are artichokes good for children?' anſwered, 'Madam, they are the leaſt flatulent of all the eſculent tribe,' indeed, doctor, ſays the lady, I do not underſtand a word of what you have ſaid. Now, I think, a few would have much admired either the fine or common ſenſe of theſe gentlemen, though certainly the divine would have been conſidered as the greater fool of the two, for phyſicians, as a body, have aſſerted and maintained their right to the uſe of hard

phraſes beyond any other claſs of ſcholars. But there is a certain ſpecies of this fault, which, I think, has not been much taken notice of; and that is, when men, either of high ſtation or real ſenſe and literature, are filled with ſelf-ſufficiency, and cannot think of deſcending to the level of thoſe with whom they converſe, either in ſentiments or phraſeology. I ſuſpect there were a few grains of this failing in the illuſtrious perſons not long ago mentioned; and that their ſentiments, above related, are an evidence of it. In this inſtance, their fine ſenſe was an over match for their common ſenſe, and this was an evident proof of the imperfection of both.

If then fine ſenſe does not differ eſſentially from common ſenſe, and the firſt is nothing more than a certain brightneſs or poliſh given to the laſt, it would ſeem as if by common ſenſe we ought to underſtand the rational powers in general and the *capacity* of improvement. But here we meet with a difficulty which ſeems to need a reſolution. If common ſenſe is nothing elſe but the ſtrength of the intellectual powers taken complexly, then muſt it be in every perſon in proportion to thoſe powers; and ſcience, if it does not improve, certainly cannot diminiſh it. Yet there is no branch of ſcience whatever but we find ſome perſons capable of learning it, and frequently even of ſhining in it, who are notwithſtanding very defective in common ſenſe, and after their learned acquiſitions, the defect is either greater in itſelf, or at leaſt more viſible than before. We find many who learn the dead languages to great perfection, who learn arithmetic, geometry, natural philoſophy, rhetoric, politics, who even become eminent in ſome of them and tolerably ſkilled in all, whom yet we reckon greatly inferior to more ignorant perſons, in clear ſound common ſenſe.

Perhaps it may be thought that theſe ignorant perſons only wanted the opportunity of improvement, and would have excelled the others alſo in literature had they applied to it. This I do not find to be the caſe, from the inſtances in which a trial has been made. Doubtleſs there are ſome examples of perſons eminently poſſeſſed of judgment or common ſenſe, as well as capable of acquiring

ſkill in the ſciences; but theſe talents are by no means the ſame or in direct proportion to one another. I have known perſons who ſeemed capable of learning any thing, and who did know a great deal upon many ſubjects, who yet had ſuch a comical caſt in their general behavior, that it was not eaſy to avoid ſmiling at their ſpeech and conduct. I have even known perſons, male and female, with whom you could find no fault, but that their carriage and converſation were too complete and perfect at all times, and yet we ſuſpected them of folly, merely becauſe they were free from the follies and irregularities of others. I remember an inſtance, in early life, of my being in company, for the firſt time, with a certain young lady, and after a few minutes, ſhe aſked me a very judicious queſtion upon the character and hiſtory of Auguſtus Cæſar, which made me immediately ſuſpect that ſhe was not quite ſound; whereas, if ſhe had only ſaid it was a fine day after the rain, or uttered any other ſuch wiſe and pertinent reflection, I ſhould have concluded nothing to her prejudice. On the other hand, there are many inſtances of perſons who have made trial of ſtudy and ſcience with very little ſucceſs, and who, giving them up, have applied to active life, and have deſervedly acquired the character of clear-headed, ſenſible, judicious men. The truth is, the diſtinction between literature and common ſenſe ſeems to be well known and generally acknowledged. There are ſome who evidently give way to, or even affect an abſence of mind, from forgetfulneſs and inattention to what they are about, and expect we ſhould conſider it as an indication of profound ſtudy and deep learning. This is one of the moſt ridiculous pieces of affectation imaginable. Such gentlemen, if they be logicians, ſhould be told that *a particulari ad universale non valet consequentia.* We know very well that ſome great ſcholars are fools, but this will never prove that all fools are great ſcholars. Upon the whole, it ſeems that ſcience, or a capacity for it, is not common ſenſe.

Since then common ſenſe is a gift of nature, different from a capacity for ſcience in general, ſhall we ſay that it is genius, including particularly thoſe exalted and admired

talents which have been by ſome of the lateſt writers, called the powers of imagination. Here we are further from the point than ever, for great wit and a lively imagination are rather conſidered as oppoſed to judgment and prudence, and other happy fruits of common ſenſe. So much is this the caſe, that the poet has been often cited with approbation, who ſays,

> Great wit to madneſs ſure is near allied,
> And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

It is common to ſay, that ſuch a man has more ſail than ballaſt, meaning that his imagination, fire and ſprightlineſs are an overmatch for his prudence, and clearly carrying the ſuppoſition, that this laſt quality is as oppoſite to the others as ſail is to ballaſt, or even motion to reſt. To all this may be added, that ſome who really were, and many who deſired to be thought men of great genius, have actually claimed it as their right, not to be confined to common forms, and indeed have generally acted accordingly.

We have ſeen then that refinement, ſcience, genius, are not common ſenſe, ſhall we now go any further? Is there not a character in which there is knowledge of the moſt liberal kind, clearneſs of underſtanding, penetration of mind upon every ſubject, and yet a weakneſs or want of common ſenſe in conduct and behavior? Are there not ſome who ſeem to have not only all other ſenſes, but common ſenſe too for every body but themſelves? They can immediately and readily diſcover the miſtakes of others, they can give the beſt and ſoundeſt advice upon every ſubject, and yet never could act a wiſe part themſelves on any ſubject. Some who are even connoiſſeurs in œconomy, never can keep their own affairs in tolerable order. I have known a gentleman who reduced himſelf to beggary by fooliſh projects, yet, after having ſold his paternal inheritance, he employed himſelf in thinking and writing on that ſubject on which he had acted wrong, and publiſhed eſſays on agriculture, modeſtly pointing out to gentlemen and farmers by how ſmall a portion of land, well improved, they might ſpeedily acquire a plentiful eſtate.

Upon comparing all theſe obſervations together, I beg leave to lay down a few propoſitions which appear to be neareſt the truth in the way of theory or ſyſtem, and on them to ground a few practical advices. There ſeem to be three ſeparate qualities of the human mind very well expreſſed in the old philoſophy, by the three known terms of memory, imagination and judgment. Theſe are truly diſtinct one from another; for any one of them may not only exiſt, but be in high perfection in the abſence of both the others. This will not, I think, be doubted as to the two firſt, and even as to the laſt I have known ſome perſons not only without imagination as a talent, but with very little taſte for works of imagination, and whoſe memory was no ways remarkable, who have paſſed through life with great dignity and credit, who, with or without learning, have conducted their own affairs with prudence and diſcretion, and diſcovered the higheſt ſenſe of propriety and decorum in all their intercourſe with others, under the happy guidance of plain common ſenſe.

In the next place, though theſe qualities are diſtinct, they are by no means incompatible. There have been inſtances of perſons who poſſeſſed all the three in high perfection; and there muſt be a conſiderable proportion of each to form a character truly illuſtrious. Some, in whom imagination has been very ſtrong, have alſo been remarkable for clearneſs of judgment in their works, good ſenſe and prudence in their whole deportment. The ſame thing I ſay of memory. Some prodigies of memory have been defective in judgment, but many great men have alſo excelled in this reſpect, and no ſmall meaſure of it is neceſſary both in works of genius and the functions of public life. Again,

Of theſe three qualities, judgment is by far the moſt valuable and important. Of itſelf it is amiable and reſpectable, while the others, without it, are contemptible, uſeleſs or hurtful. A man of memory, without judgment, is a fool; and a man of imagination, without judgment, is mad; but when this great quality takes the government of both, they acquire luſtre, and command univerſal eſ-

teem. No human accompliſhment, unleſs it has this as its foundation and ground-work, can reach perfection, even in its own kind. Memory will make a linguiſt, imagination will make a poet, penetration will make a philoſopher, public life will make a politician, and court breeding will make a man of faſhion; yet all of them are eſſentially defective if common ſenſe is weak or wanting. There is ſomething in the application and direction of all theſe accompliſhments which judgment muſt ſupply, and which neither inſtruction, example, nor even experience will beſtow.

It is probable that many would readily grant me (what yet I do not aſk, being hardly of the ſame opinion) that of all the characters juſt now mentioned, that of a man of faſhion or politeneſs is the moſt ſuperficial, and what may be moſt eaſily attained by imitation and habit. Yet even here nothing is more eaſy than to ſee the dominion of judgment and good ſenſe, or the prevalence of folly and indiſcretion. That want of preſence of mind or embarraſſment, which is often the effect of modeſty or baſhfulneſs; nay, even the errors and blunders which viſibly proceed from ignorance and miſtake of the reigning mode, are not half ſo abſurd and ridiculous, as the affected airs and miſplaced ceremonies of a fop, of which the ladies are always moſt attentive obſervers, and to give them their due, generally not incompetent judges.

Once more, judgment is an original and radical quality, that is of all others leaſt capable of being communicated by inſtruction, or even improved or augmented by culture. Memory and imagination are alſo gifts of nature; but they may be greatly increaſed, the one by exerciſe, and the other by indulgence. You may teach a man any thing in the world but prudence, which is the genuine offspring of common ſenſe. It is generally ſaid that experience teaches fools, but the meaning of the proverb is often miſtaken, for it does not ſignify that experience makes them wiſe: it ſignifies that they never are wiſe at all, put perſiſt in ſpite of inſtruction, warning and example, till they feel the effects of their own folly. If a man is born with a fund of good ſenſe and natural diſcern-

ment, it will appear in the very firſt ſtages of his education. He who outſtrips his fellows in a grammar ſchool, will not always be the greateſt ſcholar in advanced life; but he who does not diſcover diſcernment and ſagacity when a boy, will never be diſtinguiſhed for it ſo long as he lives. It is often ſaid, in a certain country, that a fool of forty will never be wiſe; which is ſometimes underſtood as if a man made as regular a progreſs to the ſummit of his wiſdom, till the age of forty, as he does to that of his ſtature till twenty; which is a very great miſtake. I take it to be in this caſe, as in the other, that a man of forty has ſufficiently proved to all the world that he is not, and therefore that he never was and never will be wiſe.

Shall we ſay then that this moſt valuable of all human qualities receives no benefit at all from a well conducted education, from ſtudy, or from an acquaintance with the world. I anſwer, that I do not think it is capable of any change in its nature, or addition to its vigor, but it may be joined to other talents of more or leſs value, and it may be applied to perſons more or leſs uſeful and important, and thence acquire a luſtre and poliſh, of which it would otherwiſe be deſtitute. The ſame good ſenſe and prudence, which alone would make a ſenſible judicious farmer, would, if united to memory and imagination, and enriched with ſkill in the liberal arts, make an eminent ſcholar, and bring in large contributions to the treaſury of human ſcience. The ſame ſoundneſs of judgment, which, in a country life or contracted neighborhood, would ſet an example of frugality, be an enemy to diſorder, and point out the poſſeſſor as a proper umpire in unhappy diſſentions; would, in a more enlarged ſphere, make an accompliſhed ſenator or a politician, to manage the affairs of a large community, or ſettle the differences of contending nations.

I come now to offer my readers ſome advices, a practice to which I am by nature and habit exceedingly prone. A difficulty, it muſt be confeſſed, ſeems to occur in this matter. If the above theory be juſt, there ſeems to be little room left for advice, as the great talent, ſo largely

deſcribed, is ſuppoſed to be original and unalterable. This difficulty, however, notwithſtanding, important inſtruction may be grafted upon it, not only to parents and others who have the charge of the education of youth, but to every man, for the future direction of his own conduct.

As to the firſt of theſe, I would intreat parents to guard againſt that fond partiality which inclines them to form a wrong judgment of the capacity of their children; particularly, it were to be wiſhed, that they would not take a few ſallies of pertneſs and vivacity for an evidence of diſtinguiſhed parts. It is well known, and has been frequently obſerved, how apt parents are to entertain their viſitors with an account of the bright ſayings or ſhrewd ſchemes of their children, as moſt promiſing ſymptoms of their future talents; and yet, ſo far as my obſervation reaches, the things related might for the moſt part juſtify a contrary ſuppoſition. I ſhould run little riſk in affirming, that three fourths at leaſt of thoſe anecdotes, which parents relate with ſo much triumph of their children, are to be accounted for from memory, or petulance, or even ſtupidity. A child will repeat, at an improper time, a phraſe or remark that he has heard, and it will make ſo abſurd a contraſt with what is going on, that it is impoſſible to forbear laughing. I aſk whether this is an evidence of the greatneſs or the want of underſtanding in the child? Another will give an inſolent and ſaucy anſwer, and acquire great reputation for what deſerved the moſt ſevere and exemplary correction. To crown all, I will tell a true ſtory: An old gentleman, whom I knew, would often ſay, in commendation of his ſon's wiſdom, then a boy about ten or twelve year's of age, That when other boys are breaking their legs by falls from limbs of trees, or going a fiſhing in rivers, at the riſk of being drowned, his ſon would fiſh a whole afternoon with a crooked pin in a tub of foul water in the kitchen. I ſuppoſe any reader will agree, that the fact and the remark taken together, conſtitute a full proof that the mother was honeſt, and the ſon lawfully begotten.

It would be a great advantage, that parents ſhould make a moderate eſtimation of the talents of their chil-

dren, in two reſpects. (1.) It would preſerve the children themſelves from being puffed up with unmerited praiſe, and thus miſtaking their own character and capacity. Though the native force and vigor of common ſenſe can neither be augmented nor deſtroyed, yet it may be, and I believe frequently is neglected and deſpiſed, or overgrown by the rank weeds of oſtentation and ſelf ſufficiency. When young perſons are vain of the talents which they do not poſſeſs, or ambitious of a character which they cannot attain, they become ridiculous in their conduct, and are generally unſucceſsful in their purſuits. (2.) It would incline and make their parents to conduct their education in the moſt proper manner, by giving particular attention to thoſe branches of inſtruction, which, though leſs ſplendid, are more generally uſeful than ſome others. It would lead me too much into detail to give many examples for the illuſtration of this remark, and therefore I ſhall only ſay, that common ſenſe, which is a modeſt unaſſuming quality, and a diligent application to the uſeful parts of ſcience, will neither diſtreſs nor weaken a fervent imagination, when it really reſides in the ſame ſubject; but giving looſe reins to a warm imagination, will often overſet a moderate degree of judgment, ſo that it will never more dare to ſhow its head. I have known ſome youths of bright genius in their own eſteem, who have looked down with great contempt upon quiet and orderly boys as dull plodding fellows, and yet theſe laſt have, in the iſſue, become men of ſpirit and capacity, as well as literature, while the others have evaporated into rakes and bullies, and indeed blockheads; or taking the road to Mount Helicon, have become poets, fools and beggars.

I muſt adviſe every reader, eſpecially thoſe in early years, to form his opinion of others, and his friendly attachments, upon the principles above laid down. Nothing will more effectually miſlead young perſons, than an exceſſive admiration of ſhowy talents in thoſe with whom they converſe, whether they be real or ſuppoſed. I have known many inſtances of perſons who apparently owed their ruin to their imbibing, early in life, a notion

that decency, order, and a prudent management of their affairs, were marks of dulneſs; and on the contrary, that petulance, frowardneſs and irregularity, and even vicious exceſſes, were the effects of ſpirit and capacity. Many follow the leading perſon in frolics, not from any inward approbation of ſuch practices, but merely to avoid the reproach which in ſuch ſocieties is ſo unjuſtly beſtowed. I beg all ſuch to believe me, as a perſon of ſome experience in places of public education, when I aſſure them, that in nine inſtances out of ten, your ramblers, night-walkers, and miſchief workers, are blockheads and thick-ſculls. Does it require any genius, think you, to throw a log in another's way in a dark paſſage, and after he has ſtumbled over it, to raiſe a triumphant laugh at him, who was ſuch a fool as not to ſee without light.

I conclude with obſerving, that whatever may be the capacity of any perſon in itſelf, if it is neglected or miſimproved, it will either be wholly loſt or be of little conſequence in future life. Our very bodily frame preſents us with a leſſon of inſtruction upon this ſubject. Though formed by nature complete and regular, if it is accuſtomed to any improper torture or ungraceful motion, the habit will ſoon become unconquerable; and any particular limb or member that for a long time is not uſed, will become uſeleſs. This holds yet more ſtrongly as to the powers of the mind: they are loſt by negligence; but by proper application they are preſerved, improved, and in many caſes increaſed. Let all, therefore, who wiſh or hope to be eminent, remember, that as the height to which you can raiſe a tower, depends upon the ſize and ſolidity of its baſe, ſo they ought to lay the foundation of their future fame deep and ſtrong, in ſobriety, prudence and patient induſtry, which are the genuine dictates of *plain common ſenſe.*

NUMBER V.

SIR,

A MAN is not, even at this time, called or conſidered as a ſcholar, unleſs he is acquainted in ſome degree with the ancient languages, particularly the Greek and Latin. About 150 years ago, however, thoſe languages were better underſtood than they are at preſent; becauſe, at that time, authors of reputation publiſhed almoſt all their works in Latin. Since the period above mentioned, the modern, or as they are ſometimes called, the northern languages have been gradually poliſhed, and each nation has manifeſted a zeal for and an attention to the purity and perfection of its own tongue. This has been the caſe, particularly with reſpect to the French and Engliſh. The French language is as nearly as I can gueſs, about 50 years before the Engliſh, in this reſpect; that is to ſay, it is ſo much longer ſince their men of letters applied themſelves to the aſcertaining, correcting and poliſhing of it. The Engliſh, however, has received great improvements within the laſt hundred years, and probably will continue to do ſo. He muſt have little judgment, or great obſtinacy, who does not confeſs that ſome late authors have written the Engliſh language with greater purity than thoſe of the firſt character in former times. From this we may certainly infer, that the education muſt be very imperfect in any ſeminary where no care is taken to form the ſcholars to taſte, propriety and accuracy, in that language which they muſt ſpeak and write all their life afterwards.

To theſe reflections it may be added, that our ſituation in America is now, and in all probability will continue to be ſuch, as to require peculiar attention upon this ſubject. The Engliſh language is ſpoken through all the United States. We are at a great diſtance from the iſland of Great-Britain, in which the ſtandard of the language is as yet ſuppoſed to be found. Every ſtate is equal to and in-

dependent of every other; and, I believe, none of them will agree, at leaſt immediately, to receive laws from another in diſcourſe, any more than in action. Time and accident muſt determine what turn affairs will take in this reſpect in future, whether we ſhall continue to conſider the language of Great-Britain as the pattern upon which we are to form ours: or whether, in this new empire, ſome centre of learning and politeneſs will not be found, which ſhall obtain influence and preſcribe the rules of ſpeech and writing to every other part.

While this point is yet unſettled, it has occurred to me to make ſome obſervations upon the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh language in America, and to attempt a collection of ſome of the chief improprieties which prevail and might be eaſily corrected. I will premiſe one or two general remarks. The vulgar in America ſpeak much better than the vulgar in Great-Britain, for a very obvious reaſon, viz. that being much more unſettled, and moving frequently from place to place, they are not ſo liable to local peculiarities either in accent or phraſeology. There is a greater difference in dialect between one county and another in Britain, than there is between one ſtate and another in America. I ſhall alſo admit, though with ſome heſitation, that gentlemen and ſcholars in Great-Britain ſpeak as much with the vulgar in common chit chat, as perſons of the ſame claſs do in America: but there is a remarkable difference in their public and ſolemn diſcourſes. I have heard in this country, in the ſenate, at the bar, and from the pulpit, and ſee daily in diſſertations from the preſs, errors in grammar, improprieties and vulgariſms, which hardly any perſon of the ſame claſs in point of rank and literature would have fallen into in Great-Britain. Curioſity led me to make a collection of theſe, which, as ſoon as it became large, convinced me that they were of very different kinds, and therefore muſt be reduced to a conſiderable number of claſſes, in order to their being treated with critical juſtice. Theſe I now preſent to the public under the following heads, to each of which I will ſubjoin a ſhort explication, and a

number of examples, with remarks where they ſeem neceſſary.

1. Americaniſms, or ways of ſpeaking peculiar to this country.
2. Vulgariſms in England and America.
3. Vulgariſms in America only.
4. Local phraſes or terms.
5. Common blunders ariſing from ignorance.
6. Cant phraſes.
7. Perſonal blunders.
8. Technical terms introduced into the language.

It will be proper to put the reader in mind, that he ought not to expect that the enumeration under each of theſe heads can be complete. This would have required a very long courſe of obſervation; and indeed is not neceſſary to my purpoſe, which is by ſpecimens to enable every attentive and judicious perſon to make obſervations for himſelf.

1. The firſt claſs I call Americaniſms, by which I underſtand an uſe of phraſes or terms, or a conſtruction of ſentences, even among perſons of rank and education, different from the uſe of the ſame terms or phraſes, or the conſtruction of ſimilar ſentences in Great-Britain. It does not follow, from a man's uſing theſe, that he is ignorant, or his diſcourſe upon the whole inelegant; nay, it does not follow in every caſe, that the terms or phraſes uſed are worſe in themſelves, but merely that they are of American and not of Engliſh growth. The word Americaniſm, which I have coined for the purpoſe, is exactly ſimilar in its formation and ſignification to the word Scotticiſm. By the word Scotticiſm is underſtood any term or phraſe, and indeed any thing either in conſtruction, pronunciation, or accentuation, that is peculiar to North-Britain. There are many inſtances in which the Scotch way is as good, and ſome in which every perſon who has the leaſt taſte as to the propriety or purity of language in general, muſt confeſs that it is better than that of England, yet ſpeakers and writers muſt conform to cuſtom.

Scotland, or the northern part of Great-Britain, was once a ſeparate independent kingdom, though, except in the Highlands, the people ſpoke the ſame language as in England; the inhabitants of the Lowlands, in both countries, having been originally the ſame. It is juſtly obſerved by Dr. Robertſon, in his hiſtory of Scotland, that had they continued ſeparate kingdoms, ſo that there ſhould have been a court and parliament at Edinburgh, to ſerve as a ſtandard, the ſmall differences in dialect and even in pronunciation, would not have been conſidered as defects, and there would have been no more opprobrium attending the uſe of them in ſpeech or writing, than there was in the uſe of the different dialects of the ancient Grecian republics. But by the removal of the court to London, and eſpecially by the union of the two kingdoms, the Scottiſh manner of ſpeaking, came to be conſidered as provincial barbariſm; which, therefore, all ſcholars are now at the utmoſt pains to avoid. It is very probable that the reverſe of this, or rather its counter part, will happen in America. Being entirely ſeparated from Britain, we ſhall find ſome centre or ſtandard of our own, and not be ſubject to the inhabitants of that iſland, either in receiving new ways of ſpeaking or rejecting the old.

The examples follow.

1. "The United States, or *either* of them." This is ſo far from being a mark of ignorance, that it is uſed by many of the moſt able and accurate ſpeakers and writers, yet it is not Engliſh. The United States are thirteen in number, but in Engliſh either does not ſignify one of many, but *one or the other* of two. I imagine *either* has become an adjective pronoun, by being a ſort of abreviation of a ſentence where it is uſed adverbially, *either the one or the other*. It is exactly the ſame with *ekateros* in Greek, and *alterutur* in Latin.

2. This is to *notify* the public; or the people had not been *notified*. By this is meant *inform* and *informed*. In Engliſh we do not notify the perſon of the thing, but notify the thing to the perſon. In this inſtance there is certainly an impropriety, for *to notify* is juſt ſaying by a word of Latin derivation, *to make known*. Now if you cannot

ſay this is to make the public known, neither ought you to ſay this is to notify the public.

3. *Fellow countrymen.* This is a word of very frequent uſe in America. It has been heard in public orations from men of the firſt character, and may be daily ſeen in newſpaper publications. It is an evident tautology, for the laſt word expreſſes fully the meaning of both. If you open any dictionary, you will find the word countryman ſignifies one born in the ſame country. You may ſay fellow citizens, fellow ſoldiers, fellow ſubjects, fellow chriſtians, but not *fellow countrymen.*

4. Theſe things were ordered delivered to the army. The words *to be* are omitted. I am not certain whether this is a local expreſſion or general in America.

5. I wiſh we could contrive it to Philadelphia. The words *to carry it, to have it carried*, or ſome ſuch, are wanting. It is a defective conſtruction, of which there are but too many that have already obtained in practice, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of men of letters.

6. We may *hope* the aſſiſtance of God. The word *for* or *to receive* is wanting. In this inſtance hope, which is a neuter verb, is turned into an active verb, and not very properly as to the objective term aſſiſtance. It muſt be admitted, however, that in ſome old Engliſh poets, hope is ſometimes uſed as an active verb, but it is contrary to modern practice.

7. I do not conſider myſelf equal to this taſk. The word *as* is wanting. I am not certain whether this may not be an Engliſh vulgariſm, for it is frequently uſed by the renowned author of Common Senſe, who is an Engliſhman born; but he has ſo happy a talent of adopting the blunders of others, that nothing deciſive can be inferred from his practice. It is, however, undoubtedly an Americaniſm, for it is uſed by authors greatly ſuperior to him in every reſpect.

8. Neither to day *or* to morrow. The proper conſtruction is, either the one or the other, neither the one *nor* the other.

9. A *certain* Thomas Benſon. The word certain, as uſed in Engliſh, is an indefinite, the name fixes it preciſe-

ly, so that there is a kind of contradiction in the expression. in England they would say, a certain person called or supposed to be Thomas Benson.

10. Such bodies are *incident* to these evils. The evil is incident or ready to fall upon the person, the person liable or subject to the evil.

11. He is a very *clever* man. She is quite a *clever* woman. How often are these phrases to be heard in conversation? Their meaning, however, would certainly be mistaken when heard for the first time by one born in Britain. In these cases, Americans generally mean by *clever*, only goodness of disposition, worthiness, integrity, without the least regard to capacity; nay, if I am not mistaken, it is frequently applied, where there is an acknowledged simplicity or mediocrity of capacity. But in Britain, clever always means capacity, and may be joined either to a good or bad disposition. We say of a man, he is a clever man, a clever tradesman, a clever fellow, without any reflection upon his moral character, yet at the same time it carries no approbation of it. It is exceeding good English, and very common to say, He is a clever fellow, but I am sorry to say it, he is also a great rogue. When cleverness is applied primarily to conduct, and not to the person, it generally carries in it the idea of art or chicanery, not very honorable; for example—Such a plan I confess was very clever, i. e. sly, artful, well contrived, but not very fair.

12. I was quite mad at him, he made me quite mad. In this instance mad is only a metaphor for angry. This is perhaps an Englishism vulgarism, but it is not found in any accurate writer, nor used by any good speaker, unless when poets or orators use it as a strong figure, and to heighten the expression, say he was mad with rage.

These shall suffice for the first class.

NUMBER VI.

SIR,

I PROCEED now upon the plan laid down in my laſt paper, to the ſecond general claſs of improprieties, viz. vulgariſms in England and America. Of theſe there is great plenty to be found every where in writing and in converſation. They need very little explication, and indeed would ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned in a diſcourſe of this nature, were it not for the circumſtance hinted at in the introduction, that ſcholars and public perſons are at leſs pains to avoid them here than in Britain.

1. I will mention the vulgar abbreviations in general, as an't, can't, han't, don't, ſhould'nt, would'nt, could'nt, &c. Great pains were taken by the Spectator to ſhew the barbarity and inelegance of that manner of ſpeaking and writing. The endeavors of that author, and others of later date, have been ſucceſsful in Britain, and have baniſhed all ſuch harſh and mutilated phraſes from public ſpeaking, ſo that they remain only in converſation, and not even in that among perſons of judgment and taſte. I need hardly ſay how far this is from being the caſe in America.

2. I *know'd* him perfectly well, for, I *knew* him.

3. I *see* him yeſterday, or I *see* him laſt week, for I *saw* him. In Scotland, the vulgar ſay, I *seed* him laſt week.

4. *This here* report of *that there* committee. Some merchants, whom I could name, in the Engliſh Parliament, whoſe wealth and not merit raiſed them to that dignity, uſe this vulgariſm very freely, and expoſe themſelves to abundance of ridicule by ſo doing.

5. He was *drownded* in the Delaware. This is ſo common, that I have known a gentleman reading it in a book to a company, though it was printed *drowned*, read *drownded*.

6. She has got a new *gownd*. This and the former are vulgariſms in converſation only; but even there very

improper and unbecoming for perſons of education. In London you are ſometimes aſked if you will take a glaſs of *wind*, for wine. Of the ſame nature are an impertinent *fellar*, for *fellow*; *waller*, for *wallow*; *winder*, for *window*.

7. Some on'em, one on'em, many on'em. This, though frequent in the northern parts of England, and ſome parts of America, perhaps is rather local than general. This indeed may be the caſe with ſeveral others which have fallen under my obſervation.

8. It *lays* in Bucks county, for it *lies*, &c. This is not only a prevailing vulgariſm in converſation, but has obtained in public ſpeaking, and may be often ſeen in print. I am even of opinion that it has ſome chance of overcoming all the oppoſition made to it, and fully eſtabliſhing itſelf by cuſtom, which is the final arbiter in all ſuch caſes. Lowth, in his grammar, has been at much pains to correct it; yet, though that moſt excellent treatiſe has been in the hands of the public for many years, this word ſeems to gain inſtead of loſing ground. The error ariſes from confounding the neuter verb to *ly* with the active verb to *lay*, which are very different in the preſent, preterite and participle. The firſt of them is formed thus, ly, lay, lien or lain; the ſecond, lay, laid, laid.

9. I *thinks* it will not be long before he come. This is a London vulgariſm, and yet one of the groſſeſt kind. To this confuſion or diſagreement of the perſon, may be added the diſagreement of the number, giving a verb ſingular to a nominative plural, which is more frequent than the other, as, after all the *ſtories* that *has* been told, all the *reaſons* that *has* been given.

10. Equally *as* well, and equally *as* good. This is frequent in converſation and public ſpeaking. It is alſo to be found in ſome publications, of which it is needleſs to name the authors; but it is juſt as good Engliſh to ſay, the *moſt highest* mountain in America.

11. One of the moſt common vulgariſms or blunders in the Engliſh language, is putting the preterite for the participle. This is taken particular notice of by Lowth, in his grammar, as after he had *fell* down, for *fallen*;

and in the ſame manner, *rose*, for *risen; spoke*, for *spoken; wrote*, for *written; broke*, for *broken.* Some of theſe appear, as he obſerves, barbarous to ſcholars; others we are ſo accuſtomed to, that they give little offence to the ear. Had not a gentleman *threw* out, the reaſons of proteſt were *drew* up. Theſe are offenſive, but you may meet with ſimilar errors even in good authors, ſuch as I had *wrote*, I had *spoke*, the bone was *broke.* The beſt way to judge of this impropriety, is to try it upon a word that has been ſeldom ſo miſuſed, as for example, If you go the battle perhaps you will be *slew.*

12. Juſt as you *rise* the hill—little or no bread-corn is *grown* in this country. Theſe are ſimilar corruptions ariſing from turning neuter into active or paſſive verbs. They are alſo, if I am not miſtaken, among the neweſt corruptions of the language, and much more common in England than America. The above two examples are taken from Cook's firſt voyage, by Hawkeſworth, where ſome others of the ſame kind are to be found.

13. I *sat* out yeſterday morning, for I ſet out. The verb ſet has no change of termination; the preſent, preterite and participle being the ſame. I ſet out immediately; I ſet out three days ſooner than he; after I had ſet out. The error lies in taking the preterite of the verb *sit*, and making uſe of it for the paſt time of the other—ſit has three terminations, ſit, ſat, ſitten.

14. He ſaid *as how* it was his opinion. This abſurd pleonaſm is more common in Britain than in America.

The third claſs conſiſts of vulgariſms in America only. This muſt be underſtood, ſo far as I have been able to obſerve, and perhaps ſome of them are local. It will not be neceſſary either to make the examples on this head numerous, or to ſay much upon them, becauſe the introduction of vulgariſms into writing or public diſcourſes is the ſame, whether they are of one country or another.

1. I have not done it yet, but am juſt going to. This is an imperfect conſtruction; it wants the words *do it.* Imperfect conſtructions are the blemiſh of the Engliſh language in general, and rather more frequent in this country than in England.

2. It is *partly all* gone, it is *mostly all* gone. This is an abſurdity or barbariſm, as well as a vulgariſm.

3. This is the weapon with which he defends himſelf when he is *attacted*, for attacked; or according to the abbreviation, attack'd.

4. As I told Mr. ——, for as I told you. I hope Mr. —— is well this morning. What is Mr. ——'s opinion upon this ſubject? This way of ſpeaking to one who is preſent in the third perſon, and as if he were abſent, is uſed in this country by way of reſpect. No ſuch thing is done in Britain, except that to perſons of very high rank, they ſay your majeſty, your grace, your lordſhip; yet even there the continuance of the diſcourſe in the third perſon is not cuſtomary.

5. I have been *to* Philadelphia, for *at* or *in* Philadelphia; I have been *to* dinner, for I have dined.

6. Walk *in* the houſe, for *into* the houſe.

7. You *have no right* to pay it, where right is uſed for what logicians would call the correlative term obligation.

8. A *ſpell* of ſickneſs, a long *ſpell*, a bad *ſpell*. Perhaps this word is borrowed from the ſea dialect.

9. *Every* of theſe ſtates; *every* of them; *every* of us; for *every one*. I believe the word every is uſed in this manner in ſome old Engliſh writers, and alſo in ſome old laws, but not in modern practice. The thing is alſo improper, becauſe it ſhould be every one to make it ſtrictly a partitive and ſubject to the ſame conſtruction, as ſome of them, part of them, many of them, &c. yet it muſt be acknowledged, that there is no greater impropriety, if ſo great, in the vulgar conſtruction of *every*, than in another expreſſion very common in both countries, viz. *all of them*.

Having finiſhed theſe two claſſes, I ſhall make a remark or two upon vulgariſms in general. Probably many will think and ſay, that it would be a piece of ſtiffneſs or affectation to avoid them wholly in converſation or common diſcourſe. As to ſome of thoſe which have been deſcribed above, perhaps this may be admitted; but as to the greateſt part, it is certainly beſt to avoid them wholly, leſt we ſhould fall into them inadvertently where

they would be highly improper. If a gentleman will not imitate a peaſant, male or female, in ſaying *if ſo be*, and *forſooth*, and many other ſuch phraſes, becauſe he knows they are vulgariſms, why ſhould he imitate them in ſaying *equally as good*, or I *see him yesterday*, but becauſe he does not know or does not attend to the impropriety ?

The reader is alſo deſired to obſerve, that we are not by far ſo much in danger of the charge of affectation for what we omit ſaying, as for what we do ſay. When a man is fond of introducing hard words, or ſtudies a nice or pompous diction, he brings himſelf immediately into contempt; but he may eaſily attain a cautious habit of avoiding low phraſes or vulgar terms, without being at all liable to the imputation either of vanity or conſtraint.

I conclude with obſerving, that as bombaſt and empty ſwelling is the danger to which thoſe are expoſed who aim at ſublimity, ſo low ſentiments and vulgar terms are what thoſe are moſt in danger of who aim at ſimplicity. Now, as it is my intention, in the courſe of theſe papers, to ſet a mark of reprobation upon every affected and fantaſtic mode of expreſſion, and to recommend a pure, and, as it may be called, claſſic ſimplicity, it is the more neceſſary to guard the reader againſt that low and grovelling manner which is ſometimes miſtaken for it.

NUMBER VII.

SIR,

THE fourth claſs of improprieties conſiſts of *local phrases* or *terms*. By theſe I mean ſuch vulgariſms as prevail in one part of a country and not in another. There is a much greater variety of theſe in Britain than in America. From the complete population of the country, multitudes of common people never remove to any diſtance from where they were born and bred. Hence there are many characteriſtic diſtinctions, not only in phraſeology, but in accent, dreſs, manners, &c. not only between one county and another, but between different cities of the ſame county. There is a county in the North of England, very few of the natives of which can pronounce the letter *r*, as it is generally pronounced in the other parts of the kingdom.

But if there is a much greater number of local vulgariſms in Britain than America, there is alſo, for this very reaſon, much leſs danger of their being uſed by gentlemen or ſcholars. It is indeed implied in the very nature of the thing, that a local phraſe will not be uſed by any but the inhabitants or natives of that part of the country where it prevails. However, I am of opinion, that even local vulgariſms find admiſſion into the diſcourſe of people of better rank more eaſily here than in Europe.

1. He *improved* the horſe for ten days. This is uſed in ſome parts of New-England for riding the horſe.

2. *Raw salad* is uſed in the South for *salad*. N. B. There is no ſalad boiled.

3. *Chunks*, that is brands, half burnt wood. This is cuſtomary in the middle colonies.

4. He is *considerable* of a ſurveyor, *considerable* of it may be found in that country. This manner of ſpeaking prevails in the northern parts.

5. He will *once in a while*, i. e. *sometimes* get drunk. The middle ſtates.

6. Shall I have *occasion*, i. e. *opportunity* to go over the ferry. New-England.

7. *Tot* is uſed for *carry*, in ſome of the ſouthern ſtates.

The fifth claſs of improprieties may be called *common blunders through ignorance.* In this they differ from the former claſſes, that the ſimilarity of one word to another, in pronunciation or derivation, makes ignorant people confound them and uſe them promiſcuouſly, or ſometimes even convert them and uſe them each in the other's room. The following are examples.

1. *Eminent* for *imminent.* How often do we hear that a man was in eminent danger.

2. *Ingenious* for *ingenuous.* How common is it to ſay he is an ingenious young man—he is a young man of a very ingenious diſpoſition. They are both Engliſh words. Ingenious ſignifies of good capacity; ingenuous ſignifies ſimple, upright, ſincere ingenuity; however, the word that ſeems to be derived from ingenuous, is uſed in both ſenſes, ſometimes for fairneſs, openneſs, candor; ſometimes for capacity or acuteneſs of invention. I ſhould think this laſt, though done by good authors, to be contrary to the analogy of the language, eſpecially as we have two words for theſe oppoſite ideas regularly derived from the correſpondent adjectives, ingenioufneſs and ingenuouſneſs.

3. Three or four times *successfully*, for *successively.* This is a blunder through ignorance, very common among the lower ſort of people in England.

4. *Intelligible* for *intelligent.* It was a very intelligible perſon who told me.

5. *Confisticate*, for *confiscate.* The moſt ignorant of the vulgar only uſe this phraſe.

6. *Fictious* for *fictitious.* That is no more than a *fictious* ſtory. This is uſed by people ſomewhat ſuperior to thoſe who would uſe the former.

7. *Veracity* for *credibility.* This is not a blunder in converſation only, but in ſpeaking and writing. I have ſome doubt of the veracity of this fact, ſays a certain author. Veracity is the character of the perſon; truth or credibility, of the ſtory told. The ſame is the caſe with

all or moſt of the words of ſimilar formation, capacity, rapacity, tenacity. Theſe all are applied to the perſon or the diſpoſition, not to a particular action of the one or effect of the other. We ſay, a man of capacity—this work is a proof of capacity, but not the capacity of this performance; and ſo of the reſt.

8. *Susceptive*, for *susceptible*. I muſt acquaint the reader, that after I had marked this word as an example of the miſtakes men fall into from ignorance, I found it in ſome Engliſh writers, who cannot be called altogether contemptible, and alſo in Johnſon's Dictionary. As to the laſt of theſe, I ſhall have occaſion to make a remark or two upon that lexicographer under the next claſs, and therefore ſhall ſay nothing of it now. As to the other particular, I obſerve, that though the word is uſed by ſome writers, it is not only contrary to general practice, but contrary to the analogy of the tongue. All the adjectives ending in *ive* are of an active, and thoſe ending in *able* or *ible* of a paſſive nature, as active, deciſive, communicative, ſignificative, demonſtrative, and on the contrary, able, capable, communicable, demonſtrable, contemptible.

9. They are ſo very *duplicit* that I am afraid they will *rescind* from what they have done. Here are two errors in one ſentence. *Duplicit* is an adjective made by gueſs from duplicity, and *rescind* is miſtaken, by the likeneſs of ſound, for *recede*.

10. *Detect*, for *dissect*. A lady, in a certain place at dinner, aſked a gentleman if he would be ſo good as *detect* that piece of meat for her. To theſe I might add a long liſt of errors, in which ignorance or orthography makes a vitious pronunciation, and that pronunciation continued by the ſame ignorance, makes a vulgar word in place of the true one, of which take one example—A gentleman writes to his friend, that on ſuch a day they had a ſmart *scrimitch*, for *skirmish*.

The ſixth claſs conſiſts of *cant* phraſes, introduced into public ſpeaking or compoſition. The meaning of *cant* phraſes, is pretty well known, having been fully explained as long ago as the days of Mr. Addiſon. They riſe

occaſionally, ſometimes perhaps, from the happy or ſingular application of a metaphor or alluſion, which is therefore repeated and gets into general uſe, ſometimes from the whim or caprice of particular perſons in coining a term. They are in their nature temporary and ſometimes local. Thus, it is often ſaid, a man is *taken in*, he is *bilked*, he is *bit*, that was a *hit* indeed, that is not *the thing*, it was quite *the thing*. Innumerable others will occur to every reader. Sometimes the cant conſiſts in the frequent and unneceſſary repetition, or improper application of a word that is otherwiſe unexceptionable. Thus, when *vaſt* was in repute, a thing was vaſtly good, and vaſtly bad, vaſtly pretty and vaſtly ugly, vaſtly great and vaſtly little.

It is worth while, in remarking on the ſtate of the language, to reflect a little on the attack made by Addiſon, Steele, Swift, Pope, and Arbuthnot, on many of theſe cant phraſes in their day, ſuch as bite, bamboozle, poſ. rep. mob, &c. Some of them they ſucceeded in baniſhing from, or rather prevented from being ever admitted into public diſcourſes and elegant writing, ſuch as bite, bamboozle, &c. ſome they baniſhed from all polite converſation, ſuch as poſ. rep. plenipo. and ſome have kept their ground, have been admitted into the language, and are freely and gravely uſed by authors of the firſt rank, ſuch as *mob*. This was at firſt a cant abreviation of *mobile vulgus*, and as ſuch condemned by the great men above mentioned; but time has now ſtamped it with authority, the memory of its derivation is loſt, and when an hiſtorian ſays an unruly *mob* was aſſembled in the ſtreets, or he was torn in pieces by the *mob*, no idea of any thing low and ludicrous is conveyed to the mind of the reader.

I promiſed, under this head, to make a remark upon Johnſon's Dictionary. It is a book of very great value on ſeveral accounts, yet it may lead ignorant perſons into many miſtakes. He has collected every word, good or bad, that was ever uſed by any Engliſh writer; and though he has, in the larger Dictionary, given his authorities in full, yet that is not ſufficient to diſtinguiſh them. There are inſtances in which this may be the very cauſe of wrong judgment. If an author of reputation has committed a

ſingle error, his authority ſhould not be made uſe of to ſanctify that error—ſometimes, alſo, the author's deſign is miſtaken. In the abridgement of that Dictionary, at the word *bamboozle*, you find added, a *low word;* but the authority is *Arbuthnot:* now would not any man imagine, who was not otherwiſe informed, that Arbuthnot was a low writer; whereas, in fact, he uſed that word only to diſgrace and put it out of practice. The lexicographer would have acted more wiſely not to have mentioned the word at all.

It would be very eaſy to make a large collection of cant or low phraſes at preſent in uſe, ſuch as helter ſkelter, topſy turvy, upſide down, the Devil to pay, at ſixes and ſevens, put to his trumps, flung all in a heap. Every one of theſe has been ſeen in print, and many others of the ſame ſtamp, as well as heard in converſation.

It is not long ſince I read, in a piece publiſhed by a ſenſible writer in this city, 'low methods of *shamming Abraham.*' Now, pray what is ſhamming Abraham? With ſome difficulty I have underſtood, that it is a cant phraſe among ſeamen, for pretending ſickneſs when they are well, and other fetches of the ſame kind. I ſhould be glad to know how a foreigner could tranſlate this expreſſion into his own language.

Under the head of cant phraſes, I would include all proverbial or common ſayings introduced into the language, as well as trite and beaten alluſions. Of the firſt ſort are theſe, I want to put the ſaddle upon the right horſe, the laboring oar lies upon you; of the ſecond, the following, that is only *gratis dictum*, the Supreme Being by his almighty *fiat*, I will not pay any regard to *his ipse dixit*. All theſe are taken from printed pieces, ſome of them by authors not contemptible; the laſt of them, *his ipse dixit*, is of moſt frequent uſe, and yet is the moſt pedantic and puerile of the whole. I conclude with obſerving, that a cant phraſe, if it do not die by the way, has three ſtages in its progreſs. It is, firſt, a cant phraſe; ſecondly, a vulgariſm; thirdly, an idiom of the language. Some expire in one or other of the two firſt ſtages; but if

they outlive theſe, they are eſtabliſhed forever. I have given an example of this above, in the word *mob*; and I think *topsy turvy* and *upside down* have very nearly attained the ſame privilege.

The ſeventh claſs conſiſts of *personal blunders*, that is to ſay, effects of ignorance, and want of preciſion in an author, which are properly his own, and not reducible to any of the heads above mentioned. I ſhall give an example or two of this kind, becauſe it will make the meaning of the former claſſes more clear. The examples follow.

1. 'The members of a popular government ſhould be continually *availed* of the ſituation and condition of every part.' The author of this did not know that avail is neither an active nor paſſive, but a reciprocal verb; a man is ſaid to *avail himself of* any thing, but not *to avail* others or *be availed* by them.

2. 'A degree of diſſentions and oppoſitions under ſome circumſtances, and a political lethargy under others, *impend* certain ruin to a free ſtate." Here a neuter verb is made an active one. I have before given ſome examples in which this is done commonly, but in the preſent caſe it belongs to this author alone.

3. 'I ſhould have let your performance ſink into *silent disdain*.' A performance may fall into contempt, or ſink into oblivion, or be treated with diſdain, but to make it ſink into *silent disdain*, is a very crude expreſſion indeed.

4. He is a man of moſt *accomplished* abilities. A man may be ſaid to be of diſtinguiſhed abilities or great accompliſhments, but *accomplished abilities* is wholly new.

5. 'I have a *total* objection againſt this meaſure.' I ſuppoſe the gentleman meant, that he objected to the whole and every part of it. It was only an irregular marriage of the adjective to the wrong ſubſtantive.

6. An *axiom* as well eſtabliſhed as any Euclid ever demonſtrated. Now, it happens that Euclid, notwithſtanding his great love of demonſtration, never demonſtrated axioms, but took them for granted.

I hope the reader will forgive me for not referring to the treatiſes from which theſe examples are taken. They were in general anonymous; and as it is probable many of the authors are alive, and may be of further uſe to their country, ſo being wholly unknown to me, without the leaſt degree of envy or malevolence, I mean not to injure but improve them.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

IMPROVEMENT OF AMERICA.

NORTH AMERICA is at preſent from the natural courſe of things, in a growing ſtate. It will therefore of itſelf, for a ſeries of years, gradually improve. There are however many things by which that improvement may be facilitated or retarded; and it is the laudable purpoſe of this ſociety, to attend to theſe circumſtances with care, and uſe their utmoſt endeavors to encourage the one and to remove the other. Having had the honor of being admitted a member of this ſociety, and not having it much in my power any otherwiſe to promote American improvements, I could not reſiſt the inclination I felt to digeſt and put in writing, a few reflections upon the police of countries in general, the great principles on which the Philadelphia Society ought to proceed, and perhaps I may propoſe ſome particular regulations.

1. The moral cauſes of the proſperity of a country, are almoſt infinitely more powerful than thoſe that are only occaſional. This obſervation is taken from Monteſquieu, by whom it is admirably illuſtrated, and it ought never to be out of view with thoſe who wiſh to promote the general good. The moral cauſes ariſe from the nature of the government, including the adminiſtration of juſtice, liberty of conſcience, the partition of property. The riſe of a particular town, the cultivation and beauty of a particular

quarter of a country, may ſometimes be juſtly aſcribed to the ſurpriſing effects of a ſingle perſon who ſet the example; yet he was only the occaſion, properly ſpeaking, of the vigorous exertion. The conſequences could never be general or laſting, if there was not a diſpoſition to it in the conſtitution of the country. Therefore, a ſacred regard ſhould be had by every lover of mankind, to the principles of equity and liberty, that they may never be violated by any public proceedings. Pennſylvania is ſo happy in this particular, that its conſtitution need not be improved, but preſerved and defended.

2. It is extremely difficult, after you depart from general principles, to diſcover what particular regulations will be for the intereſt of a country. It requires a very comprehenſive mind, and a thorough knowledge of the courſe of trade and police in general. Beſides, it is not only difficult, but impoſſible to foreſee what circumſtances may afterwards occur. Many things are uſeful and expedient at one time, which in a few years become unneceſſary or hurtful. Nay, many ſelfiſh laws have operated from the beginning, in a manner directly contrary to what was expected. The incorporation of trades in the cities in Britain, is an inſtance of the firſt: and almoſt every law made to the prejudice of Ireland, is an example of the laſt.

REFLECTIONS

On the present State of PUBLIC AFFAIRS, *and on the Duty and Interest of America in this Important Crisis.*

THAT the preſent is an important æra to America, has been ſo often repeated, that I ſuppoſe no man doubts it, and I hope few will forget it. Yet, however auguſt the idea, it is capable of being greatly enlarged. It will be an important æra in the hiſtory of mankind. The extent of this country is ſuch, that as it is now, and probably will ſoon be ſettled, it makes no inconſiderable part of the globe itſelf. The European in general, but particularly the Britiſh ſettlements in America, have for theſe hundred years paſt, been exhibiting to the world a ſcene differing in many reſpects from what it ever beheld. In all the ancient emigrations, or colonial ſettlements, the number was ſmall, the territory very limited, and which was ſtill more, the people and the ſoil were almoſt alike uncultivated; and therefore both proceeded to improvement by very ſlow degrees. But in America we ſee a country almoſt without bounds, new and untouched, taken poſſeſſion of at once by the power, the learning and the wealth of Europe.

Hence it is that the cultivation and the population of America have advanced with a rapidity next to miraculous, and of which no political calculators have principles or data ſufficient to make a certain judgment. I hold every thing that has been ſaid on the numbers in America to be good for nothing, except in certain places where they have proceeded on actual numeration. When writers

ſtate, that the inhabitants in America double themſelves in twenty or twenty-five years, they ſpeak by gueſs, and they ſay nothing. It may be under or over the truth in certain places; but there are others in which they become twenty times the number in ſeven years. I do not know, and therefore will not attempt to conjecture, how faſt mankind may multiply in a country that is in the moſt favorable ſtate poſſible, both in itſelf, and for receiving an acceſſion from others leſs happily circumſtanced. What is more certain, as well as of more importance to obſerve, is, that the Britiſh colonies in North-America, have in this reſpect exceeded every other country upon the face of the earth.

What has cauſed this difference? Does the climate of Britain naturally produce more wiſdom, ſtrength and activity, than that of France, Spain or Portugal? Surely not, or wo to America itſelf; for the beſt of its colonies are in the climate of theſe very countries. It is therefore without doubt owing to the liberty which pervades the Britiſh conſtitution, and came with the coloniſts to this part of the earth. Monteſquieu has, with inimitable beauty, ſhewn that the natural cauſes of population or depopulation, are not half ſo powerful as the moral cauſes; by which laſt he means the ſtate of ſociety, the form of government, and the manners of the people. War, famine and peſtilence are ſcarcely felt, where there is liberty and equal laws. The wound made by thoſe ſore judgments is ſpeedily cloſed by the vigor of the conſtitution; whereas, in a more ſickly frame, a trifling ſcratch will rankle and produce long diſeaſe, or perhaps terminate in death. We need go no further than our own country to have full proof of the force of liberty. The ſouthern colonies, bleſſed as they are with a ſuperior ſoil and more powerful ſun, are yet greatly inferior to Pennſylvania and New-England, in numbers, ſtrength, and value of land in proportion to its quantity. The matter is eaſily ſolved. The conſtitutions of theſe latter colonies are more favorable to univerſal induſtry.

But with all the differences between one colony and another, America in general, by its gradual improve-

ment, not long ago exhibited a ſpectacle the moſt delightful that can be conceived, to a benevolent and contemplative mind. A country, growing every year in beauty and fertility, the people growing in numbers and wealth, arts and ſciences carefully cultivated and conſtantly advancing, and poſſeſſing ſecurity of property by liberty and equal laws, which are the true and proper ſource of all the reſt: while things were in this ſituation, Great-Britain reaped a great, unenvied and ſtill increaſing profit from the trade of the colonies. I am neither ſo weak as to believe, nor ſo fooliſh as to affirm, as ſome did in the beginning of this conteſt, that the colony trade was the whole ſupport of a majority of the people in Great-Britain. How could any perſon of reflection ſuppoſe that the foreign trade of three millions of people, could be the chief ſupport of eight millions, when the internal trade of theſe eight millions themſelves, is and muſt be the ſupport of double the number that could be ſupported by the trade of America, beſides their trade to every other part of the world? But our trade was ſtill of great importance and value, and yielded to Great-Britain yearly a profit vaſtly ſuperior to any thing they could reaſonably hope to draw from taxes and impoſitions, although they had been ſubmitted to without complaint.

This however did not ſatisfy the king, miniſtry and parliament of Great-Britain. They formed golden, but miſtaken and deluſive hopes of lightening their own burdens by levying taxes from us. They formed various plans, and attempted various meaſures, not the moſt prudent I confeſs, for carrying their purpoſe into effect. The ultimate purpoſe itſelf was in ſome degree covered at firſt, and they hoped to bring it about by ſlow and imperceptible ſteps. In ſome inſtances the impoſition was in itſelf of little conſequence; as the appointing the colonies to furniſh ſalt, pepper and vinegar to the troops. But the laudable and jealous ſpirit of liberty was alive and awake, and hardly ſuffered any of them to paſs unobſerved or unreſiſted. Public ſpirited writers took care that it ſhould not ſleep; and in particular the celebrated Pennſylvania Farmer's Letters were of ſignal ſervice, by furniſhing the

lovers of their country with facts, and illuſtrating the rights and privileges which it was their duty to defend.

The laſt attempt made by the miniſtry in the way of art and addreſs, was repealing the act laying duties on paper, glaſs, and painter's colors, and leaving a ſmall duty on tea, attended with ſuch circumſtances, that the tea ſhould come to us no dearer, but perhaps cheaper, than before. This was evidently with deſign that we might be induced to let it paſs, and ſo the claim having once taken place, might be carried in other inſtances to the greateſt height. This manœuvre, however, did not elude the vigilance of a public ſpirited people. The whole colonies declared their reſolution never to receive it. —

ON THE

CONTROVERSY

ABOUT

INDEPENDENCE.

SIR,

I BEG leave by your aſſiſtance, to publiſh a few thoughts upon the manner of conducting, what I think is now called the independent controverſy, in which this country in general is ſo greatly intereſted. Every one knows that when the claims of the Britiſh Parliament were openly made, and violently enforced, the moſt preciſe and determined reſolutions were entered into, and publiſhed by every colony, every county, and almoſt every townſhip or ſmaller diſtrict, that they would not ſubmit to them. This was clearly expreſſed in the greateſt part of them, and ought to be underſtood as the implied ſenſe of them all, not only that they would not *ſoon* or *easily*, but that they would *never* on *any event*, ſubmit to them. For my own part, I confeſs, I would never have ſigned theſe reſolves at firſt, nor taken up arms in conſequence of them afterwards, if I had not been fully convinced, as I am ſtill, that acquieſcence in this uſurped power, would be followed by the total and abſolute ruin of the colonies. They would have been no better than tributary ſtates to a kingdom at a great diſtance from them. They would have been there-

fore, as has been the caſe with all ſtates in a ſimilar ſituation from the beginning of the world, the ſervants of ſervants from generation to generation. For this reaſon I declare it to have been my meaning, and I know it was the meaning of thouſands more, that though we earneſtly wiſhed for reconciliation with ſafety to our liberties, yet we did deliberately prefer, not only the horrors of a civil war, not only the danger of anarchy, and the uncertainty of a new ſettlement, but even extermination itſelf to ſlavery, rivetted on us and our poſterity.

The moſt peaceable means were firſt uſed; but no relaxation could be obtained: one arbitrary and oppreſſive act followed after another; they deſtroyed the property of a whole capital—ſubverted to its very foundation, the conſtitution and government of a whole colony, and granted the ſoldiers a liberty of *murdering* in all the colonies. I expreſs it thus, becauſe they were not to be called to account for it where it was committed, which every body muſt allow was a temporary, and undoubtedly in ninety-nine caſes of an hundred muſt have iſſued in a total impunity. There is one circumſtance however in my opinion, much more curious than all the reſt. The reader will ſay, What can this be? It is the following, which I beg may be particularly attended to:—While all this was a doing, the King in his ſpeeches, the Parliament in their acts, and the people of Great Britain in their addreſſes, never failed te extol their own lenity. I do not infer from this, that the King, Parliament and people of Great Britain are all barbarians and ſavages—the inference is unneceſſary and unjuſt: But I infer the miſery of the people of America, if they muſt ſubmit *in all cases whatsoever*, to the deciſions of a body of the ſons of Adam, ſo diſtant from them, and who have an intereſt in oppreſſing them. It has been my opinion from the beginning, that we did not carry our reaſoning fully home, when we complained of an arbitrary prince, or of the inſolence, cruelty and obſtinacy of Lord North, Lord Bute, or Lord Mansfield. What we have to fear, and what we have now to grapple with, is the ignorance, prejudice, partiality and injuſtice of human nature. Neither king nor miniſtry, could have done, nor durſt have

attempted what we have ſeen, if they had not had the nation on their ſide. The friends of America in England are few in number, and contemptible in influence; nor muſt I omit, that even of theſe few, not one, till very lately, ever reaſoned the American cauſe upon its proper principles, or viewed it in its proper light.

Petitions on petitions have been preſented to king and Parliament, and an addreſs ſent to the people of Great Britain, which have been not merely fruitleſs, but treated with the higheſt degree of diſdain. The conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry during the whole of this conteſt, as has been often obſerved, has been ſuch, as to irritate the whole people of this continent to the higheſt degree, and unite them together by the firm bond of neceſſity and common intereſt. In this reſpect they have ſerved us in the moſt eſſential manner. I am firmly perſuaded, that had the wiſeſt heads in America met together to contrive what meaſures the miniſtry ſhould follow to ſtrengthen the American oppoſition and defeat their own deſigns, they could not have fallen upon a plan ſo effectual, as that which has been ſteadily purſued. One inſtance I cannot help mentioning, becauſe it was both of more importance, and leſs to be expected than any other. When a majority of the New-York Aſſembly, to their eternal infamy, attempted to break the union of the colonies, by refuſing to approve the proceedings of the Congreſs, and applying to Parliament by ſeparate petition—becauſe they preſumed to make mention of the principal grievance of taxation, it was treated with ineffable contempt. I deſire it may be obſerved, that all thoſe who are called the friends of America in Parliament, pleaded ſtrongly for receiving the New-York petition; which plainly ſhewed, that neither the one nor the other underſtood the ſtate of affairs in America. Had the miniſtry been prudent, or the oppoſition ſucceſsful, we had been ruined; but with what tranſport did every friend to American liberty hear, that theſe traitors to the common cauſe, had met with the reception which they deſerved.

Nothing is more manifeſt, than that the people of Great-Britain, and even the king and miniſtry, have been hitherto

exceedingly ignorant of the ſtate of things in America. For this reaſon, their meaſures have been ridiculous in the higheſt degree, and the iſſue diſgraceful. There are ſome who will not believe that they are ignorant—they tell us, how can this be? Have they not multitudes in this country, who gave them intelligence from the beginning? Yes they have; but they would truſt none but what they called official intelligence, that is to ſay, from obſequious, intereſted tools of government; many of them knew little of the true ſtate of things themſelves, and when they did, would not tell it, leſt it ſhould be diſagreeable. I have not a very high opinion of the integrity and candor of Dr. C———, Dr. C———, and other mercenary writers in New-York; yet I firmly believe, that they thought the friends of American liberty much more inconſiderable, both for weight and numbers, than they were. They converſed with few, but thoſe of their own way of thinking, and according to the common deception of little minds, miſtook the ſentiments prevailing within the circle of their own acquaintance, for the judgment of the public.

ON

CONDUCTING

THE

AMERICAN CONTROVERSY.

SIR,

I TAKE the liberty, by means of your free and uninfluenced preſs, of communicating to the public a few remarks upon the manner of conducting the American controverſy in general, and on ſome of the writers that have appeared in your paper in particular. That you may not paſs ſentence upon me immediately as an enemy to the royal authority, and a ſon of ſedition, I declare that I eſteem his majeſty king George the third to have the only rightful and lawful title to the Britiſh crown, which was ſettled upon his family in conſequence of the glorious revolution. You will ſay, this is nothing at all; it is the creed of the factious Boſtonians. I will then go a little further, and ſay that I not only revere him as the firſt magiſtrate of the realm, but I love and honor him as a man, and am perſuaded that he wiſhes the proſperity and happineſs of his people in every part of his dominions. Nay, I have ſtill more to ſay, I do not think the Britiſh miniſtry themſelves have deſerved all the abuſe and foul names that have been beſtowed on them by political wri-

ters. The ſteps which they have taken with reſpect to American affairs, and which I eſteem to be unjuſt, impolitic, and barbarous to the higheſt degree, have been chiefly owing to the two following cauſes. 1. Ignorance or miſtake, occaſioned by the miſinformation of intereſted and treacherous perſons employed in their ſervice. 2. The prejudices common to them, with perſons of all ranks in the iſland of Great-Britain.

Of the firſt of theſe, I ſhall ſay nothing at preſent, becauſe perhaps it may occur with as great propriety afterwards. But as to the ſecond, there is to be found in the newſpapers enough to convince every man of reflection, that it was not the king and the miniſtry only, but the whole nation that was enraged againſt America. The tide is but juſt beginning to turn; and I am in ſome doubt whether it has fairly turned yet, upon any larger principles than a regard to their own intereſt, which may be affected by our proceedings. It can hardly be expected, that the eyes of a whole nation ſhould be at once opened upon the generous principles of univerſal liberty. It is natural for the multitude in Britain, who have been from their infancy taught to look upon an act of parliament as ſupreme and irreſiſtible, and to conſider the liberty of their country itſelf as conſiſting in the dominion of the houſe of commons, to be ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed at any ſociety or body of men, calling in queſtion the authority of parliament, and denying its power over them. It certainly required time to make them ſenſible that things are in ſuch a ſituation in America, that for the houſe of commons in Great-Britain to aſſume the uncontrouled power of impoſing taxes upon American property, would be as inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, as it appears at firſt ſight agreeable to its form. It argues great ignorance of human nature to ſuppoſe, that becauſe we ſee a thing clearly, which we contemplate every day, and which it is our intereſt to believe and maintain, therefore they are deſtitute of honor and truth who do not acknowledge it immediately, though all their former ideas and habits have led them to a contrary ſuppoſition. A man will become an American by reſiding in the country three

months, with a proſpect of continuing, more eaſily and certainly than by reading or hearing of it for three years, amidſt the ſophiſtry of daily diſputation.

For theſe reaſons, I have often been grieved to ſee that the pleaders for American liberty, have mixed ſo much of abuſe and invective againſt the miniſtry in general, as well as particular perſons, with their reaſonings in ſupport of their own moſt righteous claim. I have often ſaid to friends of America, on that ſubject, it is not the king and miniſtry, ſo much as the prejudices of Britons, with which you have to contend. Spare no pains to have them fully informed. Add to the immoveable firmneſs with which you juſtly ſupport your own rights, a continual ſolicitude to convince the people of Britain, that it is not paſſion but reaſon that inſpires you. Tell them it cannot be ambition, but neceſſity, that makes you run an evident riſk of the heavieſt ſufferings, rather than forfeit for yourſelves and your poſterity, the greateſt of all earthly bleſſings.

Another circumſtance gave me ſtill more uneaſineſs, viz: that many American patriots ſeemed to countenance, and to think themſelves intereſted in the proſperity of that moſt deſpicable of all factions that ever exiſted in the Britiſh empire, headed by the celebrated John Wilkes, eſq. That ſhameleſs gang carried on their attacks with ſuch groſs, and indecent, and groundleſs abuſe of the king and his family, that they became odious to the nation, and indeed ſo contemptible, that the miniſtry ſent at one time the lord mayor of London to the tower, without exciting the leaſt reſentment in the perſons of property in that great city, ſo as to be felt in the operations of the treaſury.

I am ſenſible, and I mention it with pleaſure, that no American ever proceeded to ſuch offenſive extravagance on theſe ſubjects, as the people in Britain. Far greater inſults were offered to the ſovereign, within the city of London, and within the verge of the court, than ever were thought of or would have been permitted by the mob in any part of America. Even the writings containing illiberal abuſe from England,

were ſcarcely ſought after here, and many of them never publiſhed, although it could have been done without the leaſt danger of a proſecution. Yet, though the people of America are as dutiful and reſpectful ſubjects to the king as any in his dominions, there were ſome things done, and ſome things publiſhed, that ſeemed to intimate that we had one and the ſame cauſe with the author of the North-Britain, No. 45. The evil conſequence of this was, that it had a tendency to lead the king and miniſtry to think that the American claim was no better than the Wilkite clamor, and ſo to oppoſe it with the ſame firmneſs, and to treat it with the ſame diſdain. Nothing could be more injudicious than this conduct in the Americans; and it aroſe from the moſt abſolute ignorance of political hiſtory. The ſtamp-act, that firſt-born of American oppreſſions, was framed by the chief men of that very faction; and it is plain from their language to this hour, that they make no other uſe of American diſturbances, but as engines of oppoſition, and to ſerve the mean purpoſes of party or of family intereſt.

I do not mean by this to take any part with or againſt the preſent miniſtry. I have ſeen many changes of the miniſtry, without any ſenſible change of the ſtate of public affairs. Nothing is more common with them than to raiſe a hideous outcry againſt a meaſure, when they are out, and yet without ſhame or conſcience do the very ſame thing as ſoon as they get in. I look upon the cauſe of America at preſent to be a matter of truly inexpreſſible moment. The ſtate of the human race through a great part of the globe, for ages to come, depends upon it. Any miniſter or miniſtry, who is in or out of court favor, at a particular juncture, is ſo little a matter, that it ſhould not be named with it.

THOUGHTS

ON

AMERICAN LIBERTY.

THE Congreſs is, properly ſpeaking, the repreſentative of the great body of the people of North America. Their election is for a particular purpoſe, and a particular ſeaſon only; it is quite diſtinct from the aſſemblies of the ſeveral provinces. What will be before them, is quite different from what was or could be in the view of the electors when the aſſemblies are choſen. Therefore thoſe provinces are wrong, who committed it to the aſſembly as ſuch, to ſend delegates, though in ſome provinces, ſuch as Boſton and Virginia and ſome others, the unanimity of ſentiment is ſuch, as to make it the ſame thing in effect.

It is at leaſt extremely uncertain, whether it could be proper or ſafe for the Congreſs to ſend either ambaſſadors, petition or addreſs, directly to king or parliament, or both. They may treat them as a diſorderly, unconſtitutional meeting—they may hold their meeting itſelf to be criminal—they may find ſo many objections in point of legal form, that it is plainly in the power of thoſe who wiſh to be able to do it, to deaden the zeal of the multitude in the colonies, by ambiguous, dilatory, frivolous anſwers, perhaps ſeverer meaſures. It is certain that this Congreſs is different from any regular exertion, in the accuſtomed forms of a quiet, approved, ſettled conſtitution. It is an

interruption or ſuſpenſion of the uſual forms, and an appeal to the great law of reaſon, the firſt principles of the ſocial union, and the multitude collectively, for whoſe benefit all the particular laws and cuſtoms of a conſtituted ſtate, are ſuppoſed to have been originally eſtabliſhed.

There is not the leaſt reaſon as yet, to think that either the king, the parliament, or even the people of Great Britain, have been able to enter into the great principles of univerſal liberty, or are willing to hear the diſcuſſion of the point of right, without prejudice. They have not only taken no pains to convince us that ſubmiſſion to their claim is conſiſtent with liberty among us, but it is doubtful whether they expect or deſire we ſhould be convinced of it. It ſeems rather that they mean to force us to be abſolute ſlaves, knowing ourſelves to be ſuch by the hard law of neceſſity. If this is not their meaning, and they wiſh us to believe that our properties and lives are quite ſafe in the abſolute diſpoſal of the Britiſh Parliament, the late acts with reſpect to Boſton, to ruin their capital, deſtroy their charter, and grant the ſoldiers a licence to murder them, are certainly arguments of a very ſingular nature.

Therefore it follows, that the great object of the approaching Congreſs ſhould be to unite the colonies, and make them as one body, in any meaſure of ſelf-defence, to aſſure the people of Great Britain that we will not ſubmit voluntarily, and convince them that it would be either impoſſible or unprofitable for them to compel us by open violence.

For this purpoſe, the following reſolutions and recommendations are ſubmitted to their conſideration:—

1. To profeſs as all the provincial and county rulers have done, our loyalty to the king, and our backwardneſs to break our connection with Great Britain, if we are not forced by their unjuſt impoſitions. Here it may not be improper to compare our paſt conduct with that of Great Britain itſelf, and perhaps explicitly to profeſs our deteſtation of the virulent and inſolent abuſe of his majeſty's perſon and family, which ſo many have been guilty of in that iſland.

2. To declare, not only that we eſteem the claim of the Britiſh parliament to be illegal and unconſtitutional,

but that we are firmly determined never to ſubmit to it, and do deliberately prefer war with all its horrors, and even extermination itſelf to ſlavery, rivetted on us and our poſterity.

3. To reſolve that we will adhere to the intereſt of the whole body, and that no colony ſhall make its ſeparate peace, or from the hope of partial diſtinction, leave others as the victims of miniſterial vengeance, but that we will continue united, and purſue the ſame meaſures, till American liberty is ſettled on a ſolid baſis, and in particular till the now ſuffering colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay is reſtored to all the rights of which it has been on this occaſion unjuſtly deprived.

4. That a non-importation agreement, which has been too long delayed, ſhould be entered into immediately, and at the ſame time, a general non-conſumptive agreement, as to all Britiſh goods at leaſt, ſhould be circulated univerſally through the country, and take place immediately, that thoſe who have retarded the non-importation agreement, may not make a profit to themſelves by this injury to their country.

5. That ſome of the moſt effectual meaſures ſhould be taken to promote, not only induſtry in general, but manufactures in particular; ſuch as granting premiums in different colonies for manufactures which can be produced in them; appointing public markets for all the materials of manufacture; inviting over and encouraging able manufacturers in every branch; and appointing ſocieties in every great city, eſpecially in principal ſea-ports, to receive ſubſcriptions for directing and encouraging emigrants who ſhall come over from Europe, whether manufacturers or labourers, and publiſhing propoſals for this purpoſe, in the Britiſh newſpapers.

6. That it be recommended to the legiſlature of every colony, to put their militia upon the beſt footing; and to all Americans to provide themſelves with arms, in caſe of a war with the Indians, French or Roman Catholics, or in caſe they ſhould be reduced to the hard neceſſity of defending themſelves from murder and aſſaſſination.

7. That a committee ſhould be appointed to draw up an earneſt and affectionate addreſs to the army and navy, putting them in mind of their character as Britons, the reproach which they will bring upon themſelves, and the danger to which they will be expoſed, if they allow themſelves to be the inſtruments of enſlaving their country.

8. That a plan of union ſhould be laid down for all the colonies, ſo that, as formerly, they may correſpond how they ſhall effectually co-operate in ſuch meaſures as ſhall be neceſſary to their common defence.

Memorial and Manifesto

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH-AMERICA,

To the Mediating Powers in the Conferences for Peace, to the other Powers in Europe, and in general to all who shall see the same.

THE United States of North-America, having been made acquainted, by their illuſtrious ally the king of France, that there is a propoſal for holding a congreſs under the mediation of the empreſs of Ruſſia and the emperor of Germany, to treat of terms of accommodation with Great-Britain, have thought proper to publiſh, for the information of all concerned, the following memorial, which ſhall contain a brief detail of the ſteps by which they have been brought into their preſent intereſting and critical ſituation.

The United States (formerly Britiſh colonies) were firſt planted and ſettled by emigrants from that country. Theſe ſettlers came out at different times, and with different

views. Some were actuated by the ſpirit of curioſity and enterpriſe, which was ſo prevalent in Europe in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries; ſome were chiefly induced by the hope of riches; and ſome were driven from their native country by the iron rod of ſacerdotal tyranny. They ſolicited their charters, and ſettled their governments on different principles, ſuch as beſt pleaſed thoſe who were chiefly concerned in each undertaking. In one thing, however, they all agreed, that they conſidered themſelves as bringing their liberty with them, and as entitled to all the rights and privileges of freemen under the Britiſh conſtitution.

Purſuant to theſe ſentiments, they looked upon it as the foundation ſtone of Britiſh liberty, that the freeholders or proprietors of the ſoil, ſhould have the excluſive right of granting money for public uſes, and therefore invariably proceeded upon this plan. With reſpect, indeed, to the whole of their internal government, they conſidered themſelves as not directly ſubject to the Britiſh parliament, but as ſeparate *independent* dominions under the ſame ſovereign, and with ſimilar co-ordinate juriſdiction. It appears from ſeveral events, that happened in the courſe of their hiſtory, and from public acts of ſome of their governments, that this was their opinion many years before the late unjuſt claims and oppreſſive acts, which gave birth to the bloody conflict not yet finiſhed.

From the firſt ſettlement of the colonies, they willingly ſubmitted to Britain's enjoying an excluſive right to their commerce; though ſeveral of the acts of the Britiſh parliament upon this ſubject, they always looked upon as partial and unjuſt. Some of theſe appear at firſt view to be ſuch badges of ſervitude, that it is ſurpriſing that a free people ſhould ever have been patient under them. The truth is, they would not probably have been ſubmitted to, but that the rigid execution of them at this diſtance was in its nature impoſſible.

It was always the opinion of the inhabitants of theſe ſtates, that the benefits which aroſe to Britain from the excluſive commerce of America, and the taxes which it enabled her to raiſe on her own ſubjects, was more than

their proportion of the common treaſure neceſſary to the defence of the empire. At the ſame time, great as it was, the loſs to them, by being confined in their trade, was greater than the benefit to her; as it obliged them to purchaſe any thing they had occaſion for from her, and at her own price, which neceſſarily retarded their growth and improvement. All this notwithſtanding, when any extraordinary emergency ſeemed to render it neceſſary, and when application was regularly made to the aſſemblies of the colonies, they complied in every inſtance with the requiſitions, and made advances of ſums which in one or two inſtances Britain herſelf conſidered as above their ability, and therefore made reſtitution or compenſation for them.

The true reaſon of this long and patient acquieſcence, was the natural and warm attachment which the inhabitants of America had to Great-Britain as their parent country. They gloried in their relation to her; they were zealous for her honor and intereſt; imbibed her principles and prejudices with reſpect to other nations; entered into her quarrels, and were profuſe of their blood for the purpoſe of ſecuring or extending her dominion. Almoſt every city and county in Great-Britain had its counter part, which bore its name in the new world; and thoſe whoſe progenitors for three generations had been born in America, when they ſpoke of going to Britain, called it going home.

Such was the ſtate of things, when ſome unwiſe counſellors to the Britiſh king, thought of raiſing a revenue without the conſent of the American legiſlatures, to be carried directly to the Engliſh treaſury. The firſt eſſay on this ſubject was the famous ſtamp act, of which we ſhall at preſent ſay nothing, but that the univerſal ferment raiſed on occaſion of it was a clear proof of the juſtneſs and truth of the preceding repreſentation. So odious was it over the whole country, and ſo dangerous to thoſe who attempted to carry it into execution, that in a ſhort time it was repealed by themſelves. Parliament, however, by their declaratory act, which paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion, ſhewed that they intended to maintain the right,

though they desisted in this instance from the exercise of it. The Americans, overjoyed at the immediate deliverance, returned to their affection and attachment, hoping that the claim would again become dormant, and that no occasion would be given for the future discussion of it.

But it was not long before the English ministry proposed and carried an act of parliament, imposing duties on tea, glass, &c. which by the smallness of the duties themselves, and several other circumstances, was plainly designed to steal upon us gradually, and if possible imperceptibly, the exercise of their pretended right. It was not, however, in their power to blind the colonies, who rose up against the execution of this act, with a zeal proportioned to the importance of the subject, and with an unanimity not to be expected but where a great and common danger keeps every cause of jealousy and dissention out of view. Not only every colony, by its representative body, but every county, and almost every corporation or other subordinate division, publicly declared that they would defend their liberty at the risk of their estates and lives. In the mean while the English government professed a determination equally firm to enforce the execution of this act by military power, and bring us to unconditional submission.

Thus did the rupture take place; and as to the justice of our cause, we must say, that if any impartial person will read the declaratory act, that the lords and commons of Great-Britain in parliament, have a right to make laws binding upon the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*, and which was now producing its proper fruit, he must be convinced that had we submitted to it, we should have been in no respect different from a set of conquered, tributary states, subject to a foreign country; and the colonial assemblies would have become both useless and contemptible. The writings in England upon this subject, proving that we were represented *in Middlesex*, and using many other equally forcible arguments, are and will remain a disgrace to reason, as well as an insult on American understanding.

At this period of time, not only the people of England in general, but the king of England in his ſpeeches, and his parliament in their addreſſes, affected to repreſent the commotions in America as raiſed by a few ſeditious perſons, and the conſequence of a pre-concerted ſcheme to throw off the dominion of Great-Britain, and ſet up an independent empire. This unjuſt and indeed abſurd accuſation may be refuted by a thouſand arguments. The ſtrong predilection of the people of America for the people, the faſhions, and the government of Britain, proves its falſhood. There was no perſon, nor any number of perſons, in any ſtate of America, who had ſuch influence as to be able to effect this, or even view it as a probable object of ambition. But what muſt demonſtrate the abſurdity of this ſuppoſition, is the ſtate in which America was found when ſhe began to grapple with the power of Britain. No ſtep had been taken to open the way for obtaining foreign aid. No proviſion had been made of arms, ammunition, or warlike ſtores of any kind; ſo that the country ſeemed to be expoſed, naked and helpleſs, to the dominion of her enemy.

Agreeably to this, addreſſes and petitions were the means to which we had recourſe. Reconciliation to Britain, with the ſecurity and preſervation of our rights, was the wiſh of every ſoul. The moſt explicit profeſſions of loyalty to the prince, and the moſt expreſs aſſurances of effectual ſupport in his government, if we were called on in a conſtitutional way, made the ſubſtance of our declarations. Every ſucceeding petition, however, was treated with new and greater inſult, and was anſwered by acts of parliament, which for their cruelty will be a ſtain upon the annals of the kingdom, and bring the character of the nation itſelf into diſgrace.

Single acts of inhumanity may be accounted for from the depravity of an individual; but what ſhall we ſay of grave and numerous aſſemblies, enacting ſuch laws as the Boſton port bill, which reduced at once ſo many people to beggary, and their property itſelf to nothing—the act permitting thoſe charged with murdering Americans, to be ſent to England to be tried, that is to ſay, either not to

be tried at all, or certainly abſolved—the act appointing Americans taken at ſea, to be turned before the maſt in Engliſh ſhips, and obliged either to kill their own relations, or be killed by them—and the act appointing American priſoners to be ſent to the Eaſt-Indies as ſlaves. But what is of all moſt aſtoniſhing is, that they never failed to extol their own lenity, when paſſing ſuch acts as filled this whole continent with reſentment and horror. To crown the whole, the laſt petition ſent by congreſs to the king, which beſeeched him to appoint *some mode* by which our complaints might be remedied, and a way be paved for reconciliation, was treated with abſolute contempt, and no anſwer given to it of any kind. Thus was all intercourſe broken up. We were declared rebels; and they themſelves muſt confeſs, that no alternative was left us, but either to go with ropes about our necks, and ſubmit ourſelves not to the king, but to the kingdom of England, to be trampled under foot, or riſk all the conſequences of open and vigorous reſiſtance.

The laſt part of the alternative we choſe without heſitation; and as it was impoſſible to preſerve civil order any longer under the name and form of a government which we had taken arms to oppoſe, we found it abſolutely neceſſary to declare ourſelves independent of that prince who had thrown us out of his protection. This great ſtep was taken with the full approbation, and indeed at the ardent deſire of the public at large. The extent and growth of the colonies ſeemed, in the nature of things, to call for ſuch a ſeparation long before; yet it would not probably have happened for many years, if it had not been forced upon us by the conduct of our unkind parent herſelf. The thing indeed ſeems to have been the purpoſe of God Almighty; for every meaſure of the court of Great-Britain had the moſt direct tendency to haſten, and render it unavoidable.

We muſt take notice, that before the declaration of independence, there was ſomething like an attempt to reconcile us, commonly called lord North's conciliatory motion; but it was ſo trifling in its nature, and inſidious

in its form, that probably no ſucceſs was expected from it, even by thoſe who contrived it. Who does not perceive in it an artful attempt to divide us? and that while every thing elſe is left in the greateſt uncertainty, the main point for which we contended is clearly decided againſt us?

After the declaration of independence, lord and general Howe brought out a commiſſion for *giving peace to America.* But as they had not liberty ſo much as to acknowledge us by an open treaty, ſo the ſubſtance of what they offered was pardon upon ſubmiſſion; that the parliament would reviſe the acts they had paſſed, and if any of them were found improper, they would amend them: which, in one word, amounted to this, that they would do for *us* what they *themſelves* thought good. Theſe offers, however, poor as they were, came too late. So important a ſtep as the declaration of independence, could not be recalled; and the formidable armament ſent out againſt us in the year 1776, rendered it more neceſſary than ever.

We are ſorry to be obliged to take notice of the manner of conducting the war. It would be for the honor of humanity, that it could be buried in oblivion. Many were the inſtances of perſons, after they had ſubmitted and begged mercy on their knees, being murdered in cold blood. The treatment of priſoners was from the beginning, and has continued through the war, with ſome exceptions, ſavage and barbarous to the laſt degree. Multitudes, before any exchange took place, died by famine and ſtench. Many were, by threatening and ill uſage, conſtrained to enliſt in their enemy's ſervice; and many were forced on board their ſhips of war, or ſent to Britain to rot in priſon, at a diſtance from their friends, without hope of relief. It is not eaſy to enumerate the houſes and even towns which have been wantonly burnt, or to deſcribe the devaſtation of the country, and robbery of the inhabitants, wherever the army paſſed. To this may be added, hiring the ſavages to come upon the back ſettlements. There is the greater ſhame in this expedient, that they are not formidable either for their number or their valor, but for the ſhocking manner in which they

torture their priſoners, and murder women and infants who fall into their hands. Civilized nations will perhaps find it hard to believe this repreſentation; but every part of it can be ſupported by the moſt unqueſtionable facts, and it is rendered credible not only by the circumſtance that civil wars are carried on commonly with a rancour and animoſity greater than thoſe between independent nations, but by the expreſſions of hatred and contempt which have been uſed with reſpect to the Americans, by almoſt every ſpeaker and writer in England. What effect could ſuch language have on the minds of the ſoldiery, but to ſteel them againſt all impreſſions of pity and tenderneſs, as we find was really the caſe, till they were reſtrained in ſome degree, by the fear of retaliation upon their people in our hands.

At laſt, after four years of real, and near two years of profeſſed and declared independence, it pleaſed God to incline the heart of the king of France to give relief to the oppreſſed, by entering into a treaty with the United States, on the moſt liberal and diſintereſted principles. No excluſive privileges are there ſtipulated for the French nation, but the ſecure, open and equal intercourſe to which all other nations are invited. This acknowledgment and ſupport from one of the moſt powerful monarchs in Europe, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed gave a new turn to our affairs, and a new dignity to our cauſe. The terms of this treaty, ſo favorable to us, as well as honorable to our ally, cannot fail to add the bond of gratitude to that of juſtice, and make our adherence to it inviolable.

Not long after this treaty was ſigned, the court and parliament of Great-Britain ſent out commiſſioners to make an offer of terms, which we readily confeſs were not only as good, but better, than what three years before would have been chearfully accepted. But the ground was now wholly changed. We were offered freedom from taxes, and even a ſpecies of independence itſelf, upon the *easy* terms of breaking our faith ſo lately pledged, and uniting our force with that of Great-Britain; and both would doubtleſs have been immediately employed in taking vengeance on France for the aſſiſtance

ſhe had lent to us in our diſtreſs. Yet even here, the whole was to be ſubject to the reviſion of parliament; that is to ſay, any part of the agreement might be approved or rejected as to the wiſdom of that aſſembly ſhould ſeem meet.

Theſe laſt propoſals from Great-Britain, deſerve very particular notice. They are a clear dereliction of the firſt cauſe of quarrel, and an ample confeſſion that the demands of America were juſt; while the time and circumſtances of their being made, ſhew that they could not be accepted with any regard either to juſtice, gratitude, or policy. Could we be guilty of a direct breach of faith, when the ink was hardly dry by which our ratification of the treaty was marked? Could we inſtantly forget thoſe favors which had been ſo earneſtly ſolicited, as well as generouſly beſtowed? Could we, who had not entered into a league offenſive and defenſive with France, except for the preſent ſtruggle in our own behalf, becauſe we did not wiſh to be involved in the wars of Europe, throw ourſelves into the arms of an hoſtile nation, and promiſe to make peace or war with her, againſt our benefactors?

Upon the whole, ſince the American colonies were, from their extent and ſituation, ripe for a ſeparation from Great-Britain, and the nature of things ſeemed to demand it; ſince their growing power, added to that of Great-Britain, would give her ſuch a dominion of the ſea, as muſt be dangerous to the liberty and commerce of other nations; ſince, by her own acts of oppreſſion, ſhe has alienated the minds of the Americans, and compelled them to eſtabliſh independent governments, which have now taken place; and ſince theſe governments, which are diſtinct though confederated, wholly ſettled upon republican principles, and fit only for agriculture and commerce, cannot be an object of jealouſy to other powers, but by free and open intercourſe with them, a general benefit to all; it is to be hoped that the revolution which they have effected, will meet with univerſal approbation.

ON THE

GEORGIA

CONSTITUTION.

SIR,

IN your paper of Saturday laſt, you have given us the new Conſtitution of Georgia, in which I find the following reſolution, "No clergyman of any denomination ſhall be a member of the General Aſſembly." I would be very well ſatisfied that ſome of the gentlemen who have made that an eſſential article of this conſtitution, or who have inſerted and approve it in other conſtitutions, would be pleaſed to explain a little, the principles, as well as to aſcertain the meaning of it.

Perhaps we underſtand pretty generally, what is meant by a clergyman, viz. a perſon regularly called and ſet apart to the miniſtry of the goſpel, and authoriſed to preach and adminiſter the ſacraments of the Chriſtian religion. Now ſuffer me to aſk this queſtion; Before any man among us was ordained a miniſter, was he not a citizen of the United States, and if being in Georgia, a citizen of the ſtate of Georgia? Had he not then a right to be elected a member of the aſſembly, if qualified in point of property? How then has he loſt, or why is he deprived of this right? Is it by offence or diſqualification? Is it a ſin againſt the public to become a miniſter? Does it merit that the perſon who is guilty of it ſhould be immediately deprived of

one of his moſt important rights as a citizen? Is not this inflicting a penalty which always ſuppoſes an offence? Is a miniſter then diſqualified for the office of a ſenator or repreſentative? Does this calling and profeſſion render him ſtupid or ignorant? I am inclined to form a very high opinion of the natural underſtanding of the freemen and freeholders of the ſtate of Georgia, as well as of their improvement and culture by education, and yet I am not able to conceive, but that ſome of thoſe equally qualified, may enter into the clerical order: and then it muſt not be unfitneſs, but ſome other reaſon that produces the excluſion. Perhaps it may be thought that they are excluded from civil authority, that they may be more fully and conſtantly employed in their ſpiritual functions. If this had been the ground of it, how much more properly would it have appeared, as an order of an eccleſiaſtical body, with reſpect to their own members. In that caſe I ſhould not only have forgiven, but approved and juſtified it; but in the way in which it now ſtands, it is evidently a puniſhment by loſs of privilege, inflicted on thoſe who go into the office of the miniſtry; for which, perhaps, the gentlemen of Georgia may have good reaſons, though I have not been able to diſcover them.

But beſides the uncertainty of the principle on which this reſolution is founded, there ſeems to me much uncertainty as to the meaning of it. How are we to determine who is or is not a clergyman? Is he only a clergyman who has received ordination from thoſe who have derived the right by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the apoſtles? Or is he alſo a clergyman, who is ſet apart by the impoſition of hands of a body of other clergyman, by joint authority? Or is he alſo a clergyman who is ſet apart by the church members of his own ſociety, without any impoſition of hands at all? Or is he alſo a clergyman who has exhorted in a methodiſt ſociety, or ſpoken in a quaker meeting, or any other religious aſſembly met for public worſhip? There are ſtill greater difficulties behind:—Is the clerical character indelible? There are ſome who have been ordained, who occaſionally perform ſome clerical functions, but have no paſtoral charge at all. There are

ſome who finding public ſpeaking injurious to health, or from other reaſons eaſily conceived, have reſigned their paſtoral charge, and wholly diſcontinued all acts and exerciſes of that kind; and there are ſome, particularly in New-England, who having exerciſed the clerical office ſome time, and finding it leſs ſuitable to their talents than they apprehended, have voluntarily relinquiſhed it, and taken to ſome other profeſſion, as law, phyſic, or merchandize—Do theſe all continue clergymen, or do they ceaſe to be clergymen, and by that ceſſation return to, or recover the honorable privileges of laymen?

I cannot help thinking that theſe difficulties are very conſiderable, and may occaſion much litigation if the article of the conſtitution ſtands in the looſe, ambiguous form in which it now appears; and therefore I would recommend the following alterations, which I think will make every thing definite and unexceptionable.

"No clergyman, of any denomination, ſhall be capable of being elected a member of the Senate or Houſe of Repreſentatives, becauſe [here inſert the grounds of offenſive diſqualification, which I have not been able to diſcover] Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this part of the conſtitution, that if at any time he ſhall be completely deprived of the clerical character by thoſe by whom he was inveſted with it, as by depoſition for curſing and ſwearing, drunkenneſs or uncleanneſs, he ſhall then be fully reſtored to all the privileges of a free citizen; his offence ſhall no more be remembered againſt him; but he may be choſen either to the Senate or Houſe of Repreſentatives, and ſhall be treated with all the reſpect due to his *brethren*, the other members of Aſſembly."

A FEW

REFLECTIONS

Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Public in general, and in particular to the Congress of the United States.

THOUGH the following reflections come from an individual citizen, no way connected with public buſineſs, I hope they will be read with candor and attention. All good conduct proceeds from certain radical principles; and retired theoretical perſons certainly may judge as well, perhaps they often judge better, of thoſe, than ſuch as are engaged in the buſtle and hurry of an active life, or occupied in the management of particular affairs. Another circumſtance which encourages me in this hope is, that I intend to offer nothing but what ſhall be even beyond the imputation of proceeding, either from party attachment, or mercenary views.

When the Federal conſtitution was agreed on, it was the fervent deſire, and I may ſay the earneſt prayer of many, that it might take place, and get into operation with quietneſs, and under the acquieſcence and approbation of the public. This I think we may ſay, has happily been the caſe ſo far as we have yet proceeded. The perſons choſen to fill the houſes of Congreſs, have been generally approved. Perhaps ſome ſtates, in a few inſtances, might have made a better choice; but upon the whole, there is

little reaſon to complain. I remember to have heard a gentleman well acquainted with the ſubject, ſay of the former Congreſs which conducted the war, that he had never known a time in which it did not contain a great plurality of men of integrity, and of thoſe a very reſpectable number of diſtinguiſhed abilities. I hope and believe that this is the caſe at preſent; and may it always coutinue to be ſo.

The meaſures taken by Congreſs in their laſt ſeſſion, have in general given ſatisfaction. I am not ignorant that there have been ſome ſevere, and in my opinion petulant and inſolent remarks made upon the ſalaries fixed for public officers, and the compenſation allowed for the attendance of members of Congreſs, eſpecially the laſt. I am of opinion, however, that they are both reaſonable, and the laſt at leaſt as reaſonable, if not more ſo, than the firſt. I hope few perſons will ever be in Congreſs, who, devoting their time to the public ſervice, may not well deſerve the compenſation fixed for them, from their character and talents. And if they have lucrative profeſſions, or valuable private fortunes, theſe muſt be deſerted for a time, and probably a loſs incurred greater than the whole wages. I ſhould alſo be ſorry to hear of any member of Congreſs who became rich by the ſavings above his expenſe. I know very well, that there have been Congreſs men and aſſembly men too, who have carried home conſiderable ſums from leſs wages; but they were ſuch generally as did more good to their families by their penury, than to their country by their political wiſdom.

I come now to what I chiefly intended by this ſhort eſſay. Much time of the laſt ſeſſion was ſpent in debates upon fixing a place for the permanent reſidence of Congreſs, and building a federal city. That matter was under the conſideration of the former Congreſs, and was fixed and unfixed I believe more than once. It always occaſioned great altercation; nor was it poſſible to tell when it was ſettled; for whenever Congreſs changed its members, or the members changed their opinions, every thing that had been done was undone. In the laſt meeting of the federal Congreſs, it ſeemed to have been finally deci-

ded; but, either by accident or the addreſs of ſome who were oppoſed to the deciſion, it was thrown open again, and is now left as unſettled as ever. I have not met with any body who was ſorry, but with many who were happy at this circumſtance; and I ſincerely wiſh that it may be ſuffered to ſleep in its preſent ſituation at leaſt for a conſiderable time, and till ſome other buſineſs of greater and more confeſſed importance ſhall be completely finiſhed. I am now to give my reaſons for this opinion.

1. A determination upon that ſubject is not *necessary*. When I ſay it is not neceſſary, I mean that we are not urged to it by any preſſing inconveniencies or injuries which we have ſuffered or are ſuffering for want of it. Every body muſt own that it would be very expenſive; and indeed I am one myſelf, who, if it were to be done at all, and there were buildings to be erected which ſhould not belong to any ſtate, but to the union, would wiſh that they ſhould be not barely elegant, but magnificent, that they might not derogate from the dignity of the empire. This is not even contrary to the general principle of economy; for it has been obſerved that ſome of the moſt frugal nations have been moſt ſumptuous in their public edifices, of which the ſtadthouſe at Amſterdam is an example. Therefore, if the neceſſity were great, if the public buſineſs could not be carried on, nor the public authority maintained without it, I ſhould be for ſubmitting to every inconvenience—I would not be deterred even by the expence itſelf. But is this really the caſe? Does it appear to be neceſſary from the nature of the thing? No. The weight and influence of any deliberative or legiſlative body, depend much more on the wiſdom of their meaſures, than the ſplendid apartments in which they are aſſembled. Does it appear to be neceſſary from experience or the example of other nations? I think not. I can hardly recollect above one or two of the kingdoms or ſtates of Europe, in which the capital is central; and as to confederated republics, ſome of them have no common capital at all. The Swiſs Cantons have no federal city. The different ſtates of which this laſt conſiſts, have for ages, when they had occaſion to meet for common con-

ſultation, held their Diets in different places. But we need go no further than our own experience. Did not the former Congreſs carry on the war with Great-Britain, defend and ſecure the liberties of the United States, without a federal city? Was the want of it greatly or deeply felt as an inconvenience? I do not recollect a ſingle complaint made in ſpeech or writing upon the ſubject.

2. It can be but little *profitable*. The truth is, when I attempt to recollect and enumerate the advantages to be derived from a federal city, in a central place, yet thinly inhabited, I find them very few and very ſmall. If the American empire come to be one conſolidated government, I grant it would be of ſome conſequence that the ſeat of that government and ſource of authority ſhould not be too diſtant from the extremities, for reaſons which I need not here mention. But if the particular ſtates are to be preſerved and ſupported in their conſtitutional government, it ſeems of very little conſequence where the Congreſs, conſiſting of repreſentatives from theſe ſtates, ſhall hold their ſeſſions. There is not only little profit in their being fixed and central, but perhaps ſome advantages might ariſe from their being unfixed and ambulatory. This laſt ſeems to be more ſuitable to the equality of rights of the ſeveral ſtates. It is far from being an impoſſible ſuppoſition, that the ſtate on which Congreſs ſhould be fixed, would think itſelf entitled to a leading, if not a domineering influence over the other ſtates. As to caſineſs of acceſs, ſuch is the ſtate of this country, lying along the ſea coaſt, and having ſo many navigable rivers, that any city whatever on the coaſt or great rivers is eaſily acceſſible; and the difference of diſtance, eſpecially when the payment is to be in proportion to the diſtance, is not worth mentioning. It is farther to be obſerved, that though buildings may be immediately raiſed for the accommodation of Congreſs, yet a great city, or a city of opulence and commerce, could not be raiſed for a long tract of time. It is even uncertain whether the bare reſidence of Congreſs during their annual ſeſſions (which it is to be hoped in a few years will be but ſhort) independent of other circumſtances, will ever raiſe a great commercial

city at all. The Hague, though the reſidence of the ſtadtholder, is far from being the largeſt, moſt populous, or moſt wealthy city in Holland. Now I humbly conceive, that if not reſidence in, yet nearneſs to ſome important commercial city or cities, will be found to be abſolutely neceſſary for tranſactions relating to money or finance: ſo that, if the advantages and diſadvantages of a federal city on the propoſed plan are fairly weighed, the latter would preponderate.

3. There is reaſon to fear that it may be very hurtful. Nothing is of ſo much conſequence to us at preſent as union; and nothing is ſo much the deſire of all unprejudiced, public-ſpirited and virtuous men. The federal conſtitution is but new. It is, we hope, taking place; but cannot yet be ſaid to have taken root. It will, from the nature of things, take ſome time before it can acquire the reſpect and veneration neceſſary in every government from the body of the people, who are always guided by feeling and habit, more than by a train of reaſoning, however concluſive. Now, is there no reaſon to fear that the diſputes upon this ſubject may produce warmth and violence, and perhaps an alienation of mind in ſome ſtates againſt others, very prejudicial to public order? The moſt trifling ſubjects of diſpute have ſometimes created diviſions both in larger and ſmaller political bodies, which have ended in common ruin. If I am rightly informed, the diſputes which have already taken place in Congreſs upon this ſubject, have been carried on with greater virulence of temper and acrimony of expreſſion, than upon any other that has been under their deliberation. This is not to be wondered at; for it is indeed of ſuch a nature, that it has a nearer relation to ſtate attachments and local prejudices than any other that can be named. Perhaps in ſuch a queſtion it is lawful, decent, and even neceſſary, to plead the local intereſt of particular ſtates; and therefore it is to be expected that every delegate will contend with earneſtneſs for that of his own. At any rate, whatever oſtenſible public reaſons may be deviſed by a fertile invention, all unprejudiced hearers will believe that it is local attachment that guides their judgment, and inflames

their zeal. The only uſe that it is neceſſary for me to make of ſuch a remark, is to ſhew that the contention and animoſity raiſed by this diſpute will probably extend itſelf to every other, and that it will not be confined to the contending members in Congreſs, but will ſpread itſelf through all the ſtates, whoſe cauſe they plead, and whoſe intereſt they ſeem to eſpouſe. This is one of thoſe queſtions that had much better be decided wrong by general conſent, than decided right by a ſmall majority, without convincing or ſatisfying the opponents.

4. In the laſt place, it is certainly at leaſt *unſeasonable*. Though it were poſſible juſtly to anſwer all the objections I have ſtated above, I muſt ſtill ſay, there is a time for every thing under the ſun. A meaſure may be good in itſelf, and even neceſſary in a qualified ſenſe, yet if there be another duty incumbent upon the ſame body, that is better and more neceſſary, this ſurely ought to have the precedence in point of time. Now, I think it cannot be denied, and all intelligent perſons in the United States ſeem to be of opinion, that bringing order into our finances, reſtoring and eſtabliſhing public credit, is the moſt important buſineſs which the Congreſs has to do. It is alſo the moſt urgent in point of time; becauſe in the interval, many public creditors are in a ſituation truly deplorable, whereas I can think of nobody that is ſuffering much for want of a federal city. The two deſigns are alſo connected together as cauſe and effect; and I need not tell any body which of theſe ought to go foremoſt. What a romantic project will it be to fix on a ſituation, and to form plans for building a number of palaces, before we provide money to build them with, or even before we pay thoſe debts which we have already contracted? This is a matter in which not only all the citizens of America, thoſe who are, and thoſe who are not, public creditors, are deeply concerned, but on which will depend our future ſecurity, our intereſt and influence among foreign nations, and even the opinion that ſhall be formed of us by poſterity itſelf.

Theſe few reflections, not enlarged upon as they might eaſily have been, nor ſwelled or exaggerated by

pompous declamation, but ſimply and nakedly propoſed,—I leave to the judgment of the impartial public; and remain,

Their moſt obedient,

Humble ſervant,

X. Y.

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON A

MOTION FOR PAYING

THE INTEREST OF

LOAN-OFFICE CERTIFICATES.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

I MUST entreat the attention of the houſe, while I endeavor to ſtate this with as much brevity and perſpicuity as I am maſter of. It is not eaſy to forbear mentioning, yet I ſhall but barely mention, the diſtreſſed and unhappy ſituation of many of the perſons concerned in the public loans. I ſhall alſo paſs by their characters as whigs and friends to the American cauſe. I ſhall paſs by the ſervices which many of them have rendered in their perſons, by their friends, by their purſes, and by their prayers. Theſe are affecting conſiderations, which ought not, and which I am confident will not fail to have their weight with every member of this houſe. Let us then, leave theſe topics altogether, and let us confine ourſelves to the duty and intereſt of the United States in their preſent ſituation, when the care of their affairs is committed to us who are here aſſembled.

Public credit is of the utmoſt moment to a ſtate which expects to ſupport itſelf at any time; but it is all in all in a time of war. The want of it defeats the wiſeſt mea-

ſures, and renders every department torpid and motionleſs. It cannot be denied, that by many unhappy, if not unwiſe meaſures, public credit among us has been reduced to the loweſt ebb, firſt by a monſtrous and unheard of emiſſion of paper money; next by an act of bankruptcy, reducing it to ſixpence in the pound; then by a table of depreciation. There remained but one thing which preſerved us ſome degree of reſpectability, that the promiſes made to lenders of money before a certain period, had been kept for three years; but now, as the laſt and finiſhing ſtroke, this alſo is broken to pieces, and given to the winds.

Let not gentlemen cry out as before, why diſtinguiſh theſe people from other public creditors? I do not diſtinguiſh them by aſking payment for them alone; but I diſtinguiſh them, becauſe their circumſtances and diſappointment give a new and diſgraceful ſtroke to the credit of the United States. I diſtinguiſh them, becauſe I hope that their ſufferings and complaints may induce us to take ſome ſtep towards the payment of all. Strange it is to the laſt degree, that this compariſon ſhould ſeem to ſet gentlemen's minds at eaſe—becauſe great injury has been done to one claſs, therefore the ſame may and ought to be done to another. In this way it would be very eaſy to rid ourſelves of both, and to ſay, why all this noiſe about loan-office certificates? have not all the receivers of continental bills ſuffered as much or more than they, and had the immenſe ſum of two hundred millions ſunk in their hands.—If this would be a good anſwer in one caſe, it certainly would in the other. Now is it proper or ſafe in our preſent ſituation, to refuſe all kind of payment to the public creditors in this country, ſo numerous and ſo variouſly circumſtanced? Let us examine it a little.

We are now endeavoring to borrow, and have the hope of borrowing money in Europe. Is this the way to ſucceed? Is it not poſſible, is it not highly probable, that our treatment of our creditors here, will ſoon be known there? Nay, are not ſome of our creditors intereſted in this very meaſure, reſiding there? Muſt not this repeated inſolvency, neglect and even contempt of public creditors, pre-

vent people from lending us in Europe? I am ſorry to ſay it, but in truth I do believe that it is their ignorance of our ſituation and paſt conduct, that alone will make them truſt us. I confeſs, that if I were at Amſterdam juſt now, and had plenty of money, I would give what I thought proper to the United States, but would lend them none.

It is to be hoped, that in time truth and juſtice will ſo far prevail, that our poſterity will ſee the neceſſity of doing their duty; but at preſent we ſeem but little diſpoſed to it.—By making ſome payment to the public creditors immediately, and proſecuting the meaſures already begun for further ſecurity, we ſhould obtain a dignity and weight abroad, that would procure money wherever it could be found.

Let us next conſider the effect upon our credit at home. It has ever been my opinion, that if our ſecurity were good, and our credit entire, ſo that obligations by the public would be turned into money at any time, at par or at little leſs, we ſhould find no inconſiderable number of lenders. Every thing of this kind proceeds upon ſuch certain principles as never to fail in any inſtance of having their effect. From the general diſpoſition that prevails in this new country, real eſtate is leſs eſteemed, and money at intereſt more, that is to ſay comparatively ſpeaking, than in the old. Now, whatever ſucceſs we may have in Europe, I am perſuaded we ſhould ſtill need, or at leaſt be much the better of loans at home, which are in their nature preferable to thoſe abroad; and therefore whatever leads utterly to deſtroy our credit at home, does an eſſential injury to the public cauſe. Nay, though there were not any proper loans to be expected or attempted at home, ſome truſting to public credit would be neceſſary, to make thoſe to whom we are already indebted patient or at leaſt ſilent for ſome time. To this may be added that annihilating public credit, or rather rendering it contemptible, has an unhappy influence upon every particular internal temporary operation. People will not ſeek your ſervice, but fly from it. Hence it is well known, that ſometimes ſtores and ammunition or other neceſſaries for the army,

have ſtood ſtill upon the road till they were half loſt for want of ready money, or people who would truſt you, to carry them forward.

We muſt now go a little further, and ſay that, if this propoſition is inforced, it will be a great hindrance to the payment of taxes, and raiſing the ſupplies which muſt be called for from the ſtates. I do not inſiſt upon what has been already mentioned, that the payment propoſed would enable many to pay their taxes; becauſe, though that is certainly true with reſpect to thoſe who ſhall receive it, and though it is admitted they are pretty numerous, yet in my opinion it is but a trifle to the other effects of it, both in the poſitive and negative way. It would give dignity to the public ſpirit, and animation to the people in general. It would give the people better thoughts of their rulers, and prevent murmuring at public perſons and public meaſures. I need not tell this houſe how much depends in a free ſtate, upon having the eſteem and attachment of the people. It is but a very general view that people at a diſtance can take of the management of men in public truſt; but in general it is well known, they are abundantly jealous, and as ready to believe evil as good. I do not ſpeak by gueſs, but from facts, when I tell you that they ſay, we are now paying prodigious taxes, but what becomes of all the money? The army, ſay they, get none of it, being almoſt two years in arrear. The public creditors ſay they get none of it, not even intereſt for their money. This was told me by the county collector of Somerſet county, New-Jerſey, who was not a contentious man, but wiſhed to know what he ought to ſay to the people. Now this ſmall payment, as it would be very general, would be much talked of; and I am perſuaded, for its general good influence, would be worth all and more than all the ſum we ſhall beſtow. I have heard it ſaid, in ſome ſimilar caſes, you muſt ſometimes throw a little water into a pump, in order to bring a great deal out of it.

Now, on the other hand, what will be the conſequence of a total refuſal? You have told the public creditors, that you have no money in Europe to draw for. They

will very ſpeedily hear of this loan in Holland. They are ſufficiently exaſperated already; this will add to their indignation. They really are already ſore; their minds will be rankled more than ever. They are looking with an evil eye upon ſome new men coming into play, and thinking themſelves unjuſtly and ungratefully uſed. I believe they are not ſo much without principle, as to turn their backs upon the public cauſe; but a ſpirit of faction and general diſcontent, upon ſuch plauſible grounds, may do it eſſential injury. They may combine to refuſe their taxes; and if any ſuch unhappy aſſociation ſhould be formed, it would ſpread; and many from a blind attachment to their own intereſt, would pretend to be upon the ſame footing, though they have no concern in the matter: and if this diſpoſition ſhould become general, it would put an entire ſtop to all our proceedings. This diſcouraging proſpect is not merely founded on conjecture. I have been told that there have already been meetings for entering into concert for refuſing to pay taxes. Is it poſſible we can, in our circumſtances, more profitably employ the ſum mentioned in the motion, than in giving ſatisfaction to a deſerving body of men, and in preventing evils of ſo alarming a nature.

It is poſſible, ſir, that ſome are comforting themſelves with their own ſincerity and good intentions; that they ultimately reſolve to pay all honorably; that they have taken, and are taking meaſures to prepare for it.—A ſum of money is called for on purpoſe to pay the intereſt of the public debts; and the five per cent. impoſt is appropriated to the ſame purpoſe. But, ſir, it will take a conſiderable time before the moſt ſpeedy of theſe meaſures can bring money into the treaſury; and in the mean time the late ſtep of refuſing to draw bills, has given ſuch a ſtroke to loan-office certificates, that their value is fallen to a very trifle—the ſpirits of the people are broken—a gentleman told me the other day, I ſee the loan-office certificates are gone, as well as all the reſt of the money. The inevitable conſequence will be, that hard and irreſiſtible neceſſity, or incredulity and ill humor, will make them part with them for a mere nothing; and then the greateſt part of

them by far will really be in the hands of ſpeculators. When this is notoriouſly the caſe, I ſhall not be at all ſurpriſed to find that ſomebody will propoſe a new ſcale of depreciation, and ſay to the holders, you ſhall have them for what they were worth and generally ſold at, at ſuch a time. Paſt experience juſtifies this expectation, and no declaration we can make to the contrary, will be ſtronger than that of Congreſs in the year 1779, that they would redeem the money, and that it was a vile and ſlanderous aſſertion, that they would ſuffer it to ſink in people's hands. I know particular perſons alſo, who by believing this declaration, loſt their all. Now, if this ſhall be the caſe again, public faith will be once more trodden under foot; and the few remaining original holders of certificates will loſe them entirely, being taken in connection with thoſe who purchaſed them at an under value.

PART OF A

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON THE

CONFERENCE

PROPOSED BY LORD HOWE.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

THE ſubject we are now upon, is felt and confeſſed by us all to be of the utmoſt conſequence, and perhaps I may alſo ſay, of delicacy and difficulty. I have not been accuſtomed in ſuch caſes to make ſolemn profeſſions of impartiality; and ſhall not do it now, becauſe I will not ſuppoſe that there are any ſuſpicions to the contrary in the minds of thoſe who hear me. Beſides, the variety of opinions that have been formed and delivered upon it, ſeem to prove that we are giving our own proper judgment, without prejudice or influence; which I hope will lead to the diſcovery of what is moſt wiſe and expedient upon the whole.

As the deliberation ariſes from a meſſage ſent to us by lord Howe, at leaſt by his permiſſion, I think it is of importance to attend with greater exactneſs to all the circumſtances of that meſſage, than has been done by any gentleman who has yet ſpoken on the ſubject. It comes

from the commander in chief of the forces of the king of Great-Britain, and one who is ſaid to carry a commiſſion to give peace to America.

From the conduct of the miniſtry at home, from the acts of parliament, and from lord Howe's proclamation in conformity to both, it is plain, that abſolute unconditional ſubmiſſion is what they require us to agree to, or mean to force us to. And from the moſt authentic private intelligence, the king has not laid aſide his perſonal rancor; it is rather increaſing every day. In theſe circumſtances, lord Howe has evidently a great deſire to engage us in a treaty; and yet he has conſtantly avoided giving up the leaſt punctilio on his ſide. He could never be induced to give general Waſhington his title. He plainly tells us he cannot treat with Congreſs as ſuch; but he has allowed a priſoner of war to come and tell us he would be glad to ſee us as private gentlemen.

It has been ſaid that this is no inſult or diſgrace to the Congreſs; that the point of honor is hard to be got over, in making the firſt advances. This, ſir, is miſtaking the matter wholly. He has got over this point of honor; he has made the firſt overtures; he has told general Waſhington, by colonel Putnam, that he wiſhed that meſſage to be conſidered as making the firſt ſtep. His renewed attempts by lord Drummond, and now by general Sullivan, point out to all the world that he has made the firſt ſtep. It will doubtleſs be related at home, and I am of opinion it is already written and boaſted of to the miniſtry at home, that he has taken ſuch a part. Therefore, any evil or condeſcenſion that can attend ſeeking peace firſt, has been ſubmitted to by him. Yet has he uniformly avoided any circumſtance that can imply that we are any thing elſe but ſubjects of the king of Great-Britain, in rebellion. Such a meſſage as this, if in any degree intended as reſpectful to us, ought to have been ſecret; yet has it been open as the day. In ſhort, ſuch a meſſage was unneceſſary; for if he meant only to communicate his mind to the Congreſs by private gentlemen, he might have done that many ways, and it needed not to have been known either to the public or the Congreſs, till theſe

private gentlemen came here on purpose to reveal it. —These, then, are the circumstances which attend this message as it is now before us; and the question is, shall we comply with it in any degree, or not? Let us ask what benefit shall be derived from it? There is none yet shewn to be possible. It has been admitted by every person without exception who has spoke, that we are not to admit a thought of giving up the independence we have so lately declared; and by the greatest part, if not the whole, that there is not the least reason to expect that any correspondence we can have with him will tend to peace. Yet I think, in the beginning of the debate, such reasonings were used as seemed to me only to conclude that we should grasp at it as a means of peace. We were told that it was easy for us to boast or be valiant here; but that our armies were running away before their enemies. I never loved boasting, neither here nor any where else. I look upon it as almost a certain forerunner of disgrace. I found my hope of success in this cause, not in the valor of Americans, or the cowardice of Britons, but upon the justice of the cause, and still more upon the nature of things. Britain has first injured and inflamed America to the highest degree; and now attempts, at the distance of three thousand miles, to carry on war with this whole country, and force it to absolute submission. If we take the whole events of the war since it commenced, we shall rather wonder at the uniformity of our success, than be surprised at some cross events. We have seen bravery as well as cowardice in this country; and there are no consequences of either that are probable, that can be worth mentioning, as ascertaining the event of the contest.

Lord Howe speaks of a decisive blow not being yet struck; as if this cause depended upon one battle, which could not be avoided. Sir, this is a prodigious mistake. We may fight no battle at all for a long time, or we may lose some battles, as was the case with the British themselves in the Scotch rebellion of 1745, and the cause notwithstanding be the same. I wish it were considered, that neither loss nor disgrace worth mentioning, has befallen us in the late engagement, nor comparable to what the British troops have

often ſuffered. At the battle of Preſton, ſir, they broke to pieces and ran away like ſheep, before a few highlanders. I myſelf ſaw them do the ſame thing at Falkirk, with very little difference, a ſmall part only of the army making a ſtand, and in a few hours the whole retreating with precipitation before their enemies. Did that make any difference in the cauſe? Not in the leaſt—ſo long as the body of the nation were determined, on principle, againſt the rebels. Nor would it have made any other difference, but in time, though they had got poſſeſſion of London, which they might have eaſily done if they had underſtood their buſineſs; for the militia in England there gathered together, behaved fifty times worſe than that of America has done lately. They generally diſbanded and run off wholly as ſoon as the rebels came within ten or twenty miles of them. In ſhort, ſir, from any thing that has happened, I ſee not the leaſt reaſon for our attending to this deluſive meſſage. On the contrary, I think it is the very worſt time that could be choſen for us; as it will be looked upon as the effect of fear, and diffuſe the ſame ſpirit, in ſome degree, through different ranks of men.

The improbability of any thing ariſing from this conference, leading to a juſt and honorable peace, might be ſhewn by arguments too numerous to be even ſo much as named. But what I ſhall only mention is, that we are abſolutely certain, from every circumſtance, from all the proceedings at home, and lord Howe's own explicit declaration in his letter to Dr. Franklin, that he never will acknowledge the independence of the American States.

I obſerved that one or two members ſaid, in objection to the report of the board of war, that it was like a begging of the queſtion, and making a preliminary of the whole ſubject in debate. Alas, ſir, this is a prodigious miſtake. It was not only not the whole, but it was properly no ſubject of debate at all, till within theſe three months. We were contending for the reſtoration of certain privileges under the government of Great-Britain, and we were praying for re-union with her. But in the beginning of July, with the univerſal approbation of all the ſtates now united, we

renounced this connection, and declared ourselves free and independent: Shall we bring this into question again? Is it not a preliminary? has it not been declared a preliminary by many gentlemen, who have yet given their opinion for a conference, while they have said they were determined on no account and on no condition to give up our independence? It is then a necessary preliminary—and it is quite a different thing from any punctilios of ceremony. If France and England were at war, and they were both desirous of peace, there might be some little difficulty as to who should make the first proposals; but if one of them should claim the other as they did long ago as a vassal or dependant subject, and should signify a desire to converse with the other, or some deputed by him, and propose him many privileges, so as to make him even better than before, I desire to know how such a proposal would be received? If we had been for ages an independent republic, we should feel this argument with all its force. That we do not feel it, shews that we have not yet acquired the whole ideas and habits of independence; from which I only infer, that every step taken in a correspondence as now proposed, will be a virtual or partial renunciation of that dignity so lately acquired.

I beg you would observe, sir, that lord Howe himself was fully sensible that the declaration of independence precluded any treaty, in the character in which he appeared; as he is said to have lamented that he had not arrived ten days sooner, before that declaration was made. Hence it appears, that entering into any correspondence with him in the manner now proposed, is actually giving up, or at least subjecting to a new consideration, the independence which we have declared. If I may be allowed to say it without offence, it seems to me that some members have unawares admitted this, though they are not sensible of it; for when they say that it is refusing to treat, unless the whole be granted us, they must mean that some part of that whole must be left to be discussed and obtained, or yielded, by the treaty.

But, sir, many members of this house have either yielded, or at least supposed, that no desirable peace, or no real

good, could be finally expected from this correſpondence, which is wiſhed to be ſet on foot; but they have conſidered it as neceſſary in the eye of the public, to ſatisfy them that we are always ready to hear any thing that will reſtore peace to the country. In this view it is conſidered as a ſort of trial of ſkill between lord Howe and us, in the political art. As I do truly believe, that many members of this houſe are determined by this circumſtance, I ſhall conſider it with ſome attention. With this view it will be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the public in America into three great claſſes. (1.) The tories, our ſecret enemies. (2.) The whigs, the friends of independence, our ſincere and hearty ſupporters. (3.) The army, who muſt fight for us.

As to the firſt of them, I readily admit that they are earneſt for our treating. They are exulting in the proſpect of it; they are ſpreading innumerable lies to forward it. They are treating the whigs already with inſult and inſolence upon it. It has brought them from their lurking holes; they have taken liberty to ſay things in conſequence of it, which they durſt not have ſaid before. In one word, if we ſet this negociation on foot, it will give new force and vigor to all their ſeditious machinations. But, ſir, ſhall their devices have any influence upon us at all; if they have at all, it ſhould be to make us ſuſpect that ſide of the queſtion which they embrace. In caſes where the expediency of a meaſure is doubtful, if I had an opportunity of knowing what my enemies wiſhed me to do, I would not be eaſily induced to follow their advice.

As to the whigs and friends of independence, I am well perſuaded that multitudes of them are already clear in their minds, that the conference ſhould be utterly rejected; and to thoſe who are in doubt about its nature, nothing more will be requiſite, than a clear and full information of the ſtate of the caſe, which I hope will be granted them.

As to the army, I cannot help being of opinion, that nothing will more effectually deaden the operations of war, than what is propoſed. We do not ourſelves ex-

pect any benefit from it, but they will. And they will poſſibly impute our conduct to fear and jealouſy as to the iſſue of the cauſe ; which will add to their preſent little diſcouragement, and produce a timorous and deſpondent ſpirit. — — — —

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PART OF A

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

UPON THE

CONFEDERATION.

THE abſolute neceſſity of union, to the vigor and ſucceſs of thoſe meaſures on which we are already entered, is felt and confeſſed by every one of us, without exception; ſo far, indeed, that thoſe who have expreſſed their fears or ſuſpicions of the exiſting confederacy proving abortive, have yet agreed in ſaying that there muſt and ſhall be a confederacy for the purpoſes of, and till the finiſhing of this war. So far is well; and ſo far it is pleaſing to hear them expreſs their ſentiments. But I intreat gentlemen calmly to conſider how far the giving up all hopes of a laſting confederacy among theſe ſtates, for their future ſecurity and improvement, will have an effect upon the ſtability and efficacy of even the temporary confederacy, which all acknowledge to be neceſſary? I am fully perſuaded, that when it ceaſes to be generally known, that the delegates of the provinces conſider a laſting union as impracticable, it will greatly derange the minds of the people, and weaken their hands in defence of their country, which they have now undertaken with ſo much alacrity and ſpirit. I confeſs it would to me greatly diminiſh the glory and importance of the ſtruggle,

whether conſidered as for the rights of mankind in general, or for the proſperity and happineſs of this continent in future times.

It would quite depreciate the object of hope, as well as place it at a greater diſtance. For what would it ſignify to riſk our poſſeſſions and ſhed our blood to ſet ourſelves free from the encroachments and oppreſſion of Great-Britain—with a certainty, as ſoon as peace was ſettled with them, of a more laſting war, a more unnatural, more bloody, and much more hopeleſs war among the colonies themſelves?—Some of us conſider ourſelves as acting for poſterity at preſent, having little expectation of living to ſee all things fully ſettled, and the good conſequences of liberty taking effect. But how much more uncertain the hope of ſeeing the internal conteſts of the colonies ſettled upon a laſting and equitable footing?

One of the greateſt dangers I have always conſidered the colonies as expoſed to at preſent, is treachery among themſelves, augmented by bribery and corruption from our enemies. But what force would be added to the arguments of ſeducers, if they could ſay with truth, that it was of no conſequence whether we ſucceeded againſt Great-Britain, or not; for we muſt, in the end, be ſubjected, the greateſt part of us, to the power of one or more of the ſtrongeſt or largeſt of the American ſtates? And here I would apply the argument which we have ſo often uſed againſt Great-Britain—that in all hiſtory we ſee that the ſlaves of freemen, and the ſubject ſtates of republics, have been of all others the moſt grievouſly oppreſſed. I do not think the records of time can produce an inſtance of ſlaves treated with ſo much barbarity as the Helotes by the Lacedemonians, who were the moſt illuſtrious champions for liberty in all Greece; or of provinces more plundered and ſpoiled than the ſtates conquered by the Romans for one hundred years before Cæſar's dictatorſhip. The reaſon is plain: there are many great men in free ſtates. There were many conſular gentlemen in that great republic, who all conſidered themſelves as greater than kings, and muſt have kingly fortunes, which they had no other way of

acquiring but by governments of provinces, which laſted generally but one year, and ſeldom more than two.

In what I have already ſaid, or may ſay, or any caſes I may ſtate, I hope every gentleman will do me the juſtice to believe that I have not the moſt diſtant view to particular perſons or ſocieties, and mean only to reaſon from the uſual courſe of things, and the prejudices inſeparable from men as ſuch. And can we help ſaying, that there will be a much greater degree, not only of the corruption of particular perſons, but the defection of particular provinces from the preſent confederacy, if they conſider our ſucceſs itſelf as only a prelude to conteſts of a more dreadful nature, and indeed much more properly a civil war than that which now often obtains the name? Muſt not ſmall colonies in particular be in danger of ſaying, we muſt ſecure ourſelves? If the colonies are independent ſtates, ſeparate and diſunited, after this war, we may be ſure of coming off by the worſe. We are in no condition to contend with ſeveral of them. Our trade in general, and our trade with them, muſt be upon ſuch terms as they ſhall be pleaſed to preſcribe.—What will be the conſequence of this? Will they not be ready to prefer putting themſelves under the protection of Great-Britain, France or Holland, rather than ſubmit to the tyranny of their neighbors, who were lately their equals? Nor would it be at all impoſſible, that they ſhould enter into ſuch raſh engagements as would prove their own deſtruction, from a mixture of apprehended neceſſity and real reſentment.

Perhaps it may be thought that breaking off this confederacy, and leaving it unfiniſhed after we have entered upon it, will be only poſtponing the duty to ſome future period? Alas, nothing can exceed the abſurdity of that ſuppoſition. Does not all hiſtory cry out, that a common danger is the great and only effectual means of ſettling difficulties, and compoſing differences. Have we not experienced its efficacy in producing ſuch a degree of union through theſe colonies, as nobody would have propheſied, and hardly any would have expected?

If therefore, at preſent, when the danger is yet imminent, when it is ſo far from being over, that it is but

coming to its height, we ſhall find it impoſſible to agree upon the terms of this confederacy, what madneſs is it to ſuppoſe that there ever will be a time, or that circumſtances will ſo change, as to make it even probable, that it will be done at an after ſeaſon? Will not the very ſame difficulties that are in our way, be in the way of thoſe who ſhall come after us? Is it poſſible that they ſhould be ignorant of them, or inattentive to them? Will they not have the ſame jealouſies of each other, the ſame attachment to local prejudices, and particular intereſt? So certain is this, that I look upon it as on the repentance of a ſinner—Every day's delay, though it adds to the neceſſity, yet augments the difficulty, and takes from the inclination.

There is one thing that has been thrown out, by which ſome ſeem to perſuade themſelves of, and others to be more indifferent about the ſucceſs of a confederacy—that from the nature of men, it is to be expected that a time muſt come when it will be diſſolved and broken in pieces. I am none of thoſe who either deny or conceal the depravity of human nature, till it is purified by the light of truth, and renewed by the Spirit of the living God. Yet I apprehend there is no force in that reaſoning at all. Shall we eſtabliſh nothing good, becauſe we know it cannot be eternal? Shall we live without government, becauſe every conſtitution has its old age, and its period? Becauſe we know that we ſhall die, ſhall we take no pains to preſerve or lengthen out life? Far from it, ſir: it only requires the more watchful attention, to ſettle government upon the beſt principles, and in the wiſeſt manner, that it may laſt as long as the nature of things will admit.

But I beg leave to ſay ſomething more, though with ſome riſk that it will be thought viſionary and romantic. I do expect, Mr. Preſident, a progreſs, as in every other human art, ſo in the order and perfection of human ſociety, greater than we have yet ſeen: and why ſhould we be wanting to ourſelves in urging it forward. It is certain, I think, that human ſcience and religion have kept company together, and greatly aſſiſted each other's

progreſs in the world. I do not ſay that intellectual and moral qualities are in the ſame proportion in particular perſons; but they have a great and friendly influence upon one another, in ſocieties and larger bodies.

There have been great improvements, not only in human knowledge, but in human nature; the progreſs of which can be eaſily traced in hiſtory. Every body is able to look back to the time in Europe, when the liberal ſentiments that now prevail upon the rights of conſcience, would have been looked upon as abſurd. It is but little above two hundred years ſince that enlarged ſyſtem called the balance of power, took place: and I maintain, that it is a greater ſtep from the former diſunited and hoſtile ſituation of kingdoms and ſtates, to their preſent condition, than it would be from their preſent condition to a ſtate of more perfect and laſting union. It is not impoſſible, that in future times all the ſtates on one quarter of the globe, may ſee it proper by ſome plan of union, to perpetuate ſecurity and peace: and ſure I am, a well planned confederacy among the ſtates of America, may hand down the bleſſings of peace and public order to many generations. The union of the ſeven provinces of the Low Countries, has never yet been broken; and they are of very different degrees of ſtrength and wealth. Neither have the Cantons of Switzerland ever broken among themſelves, though there are ſome of them proteſtants and ſome of them papiſts by public eſtabliſhment. Not only ſo, but theſe confederacies are ſeldom engaged in a war with other nations. Wars are generally between monarchs, or ſingle ſtates that are large. A confederation of itſelf keeps war at a diſtance from the bodies of which it is compoſed.

For all theſe reaſons, ſir, I humbly apprehend that every argument from honor, intereſt, ſafety and neceſſity, conſpire in preſſing us to a confederacy; and if it be ſeriouſly attempted, I hope, by the bleſſing of God upon our endeavors, it will be happily accompliſhed. — —

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PART OF A

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON THE

FINANCES.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE little to ſay againſt the reſolutions, as they ſtand reported by the ſuperintendant of finance. Perhaps they are unavoidable in the circumſtances to which we are reduced. Yet the ſtep ſeems to be ſo very important, and the conſequences of it ſo much to be dreaded, that I muſt intreat the patience of the houſe, till I ſtate the danger in a few words, and examine whether any thing can poſſibly be added to it which may in ſome degree prevent the evils which we apprehend, or at leaſt exculpate Congreſs, and convince the public that it is the effect of abſolute neceſſity.

Sir, if we enter into theſe reſolves as they ſtand, it will be a deliberate deviation from an expreſs and abſolute ſtipulation, and therefore it will, as it was expreſſed by an honorable gentleman the other day, give the laſt ſtab to public credit. It will be in vain, in future, to aſk the public to believe any promiſe we ſhall make, even when the moſt clear and explicit grounds of confidence are produced. Perhaps it will be ſaid that public credit is already gone; and it hath been ſaid that there is no more in this, than

in neglecting to pay the intereſt of the loan-office certificates of later date; but though there were no other differences between them, this being another and freſher inſtance of the ſame, will have an additional evil influence upon public credit. But in fact, there is ſomething more in it than in the other. The ſolemn ſtipulation of Congreſs, ſpecifying the manner in which the intereſt was to be paid, was conſidered as an additional ſecurity, and gave a value to theſe certificates, which the other never had. I beg that no gentleman may think that I hold it a light matter to withhold the intereſt from the other lenders; they will be convinced I hope, of the contrary before I have done; but I have made the compariſon merely to ſhew what will be the influence of this meaſure upon the public mind, and therefore upon the credit and eſtimation of Congreſs. Now it is plain, that the particular promiſe of giving bills upon Europe, as it had an effect, and was intended to have it in procuring credit, it muſt, when broken or withdrawn, operate in the moſt powerful manner to our prejudice. I will give an example of this, in our melancholy paſt experience. The old continental money was diſgraced, and ſunk firſt by the act of March 18th, 1780, (which the Duke de Vergennes juſtly called an act of bankruptcy,) telling you would pay no more of your debt than ſix-pence in the pound. This was afterwards further improved by new eſtimates of depreciation, of ſeventy-five and one hundred and fifty, for new ſtate paper, which itſelf was ſunk to two or three for one; and yet bad as theſe men's caſes were, the diſgrace ariſing from them was more than doubled, by peoples referring to, and repeating a public declaration of Congreſs, in which we complained of the injurious ſlanders of thoſe that ſaid we would ſuffer the money to ſink in the hands of the holders, and making the moſt ſolemn proteſtations, that ultimately the money ſhould be redeemed dollar for dollar; and to my knowledge, ſome truſting to that very declaration, ſold their eſtates at what they thought a high price, and brought themſelves to utter ruin.

I cannot help requeſting Congreſs to attend to the ſtate of thoſe perſons who held the Loan Office certificates,

which drew intereſt on France; they are all without exception, the firmeſt and faſteſt friends to the cauſe of America; they were in general the moſt firm, and active, and generous friends. Many of them advanced large ſums of hard money, to aſſiſt you in carrying on the war in Canada. None of them at all put away even the loan-office certificates or ſpeculation, but either from a generous intention of ſerving the public, or from an entire confidence in the public credit. There is one circumſtance which ought to be attended to, viz. the promiſe of intereſt—bills on Europe were not made till the 10th of September, 1777. It was ſaid a day or two ago, that thoſe who ſent in caſh a little before March 1ſt, 1778, had by the depreciated ſtate of the money, received almoſt their principal; but this makes but a ſmall part of the money, for there were but ſix months for the people to put in the money, after the promiſe was made; only the moſt apparent juſtice obliged Congreſs to extend the privilege to thoſe who had put in their money before. Beſides nothing can be more unequal and injurious, than reckoning the money by the depreciation, either before or after the 1ſt of March, 1778, for a great part of the money in all the Loan offices, was ſuch as had been paid up in its nominal value, in conſequence of the Tender laws.

This points you, Sir, to another claſs of people, from whom money was taken viz. widows and orphans, corporations and public bodies. How many guardians were actually led, or indeed were obliged to put their depreciated and depreciating money in the funds—I ſpeak from good knowledge. The truſtees of the college of New-Jerſey, in June, 1777, directed a committee of their's to put all the money that ſhould be paid up to them, in the loan-office, ſo that they have now nearly inveſted all. Some put in before March, 1778, and a greater part ſubſequent to that date. Now it muſt be known to every body, that ſince the payment of the intereſt bills gave a value to theſe early loans, many have continued their intereſt in them, and reſted in a manner wholly on them for ſupport. Had they entertained the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion that they would be cut off, they could have ſold them for ſomething, and

applied themſelves to other means of ſubſiſtence; but as the caſe now ſtands, you are reducing not an inconſidera- ble number of your very beſt friends to abſolute beggary During the whole period, and through the whole ſyſtem of continental money, your friends have ſuffered alone—the diſaffected and lukewarm have always evaded the burden —have in many inſtances turned the ſufferings of the country to their own account—have triumphed over the whigs—and if the whole ſhall be crowned with this laſt ſtroke, it ſeems but reaſonable that they ſhould treat us with inſult and deriſion. And what faith do you expect the public creditors ſhould place in your promiſe of ever paying them at all? What reaſon, after what is paſt, have they to dread that you will divert the fund which is now mentioned as a diſtant ſource of payment? If a future Congreſs ſhould do this, it would not be one whit worſe than what has been already done.

I wiſh, Sir, this houſe would weigh a little, the public conſequences that will immediately follow this reſolution. The grief, diſappointment and ſufferings of your beſt friends, has been already mentioned—then prepare your- ſelves to hear from your enemies the moſt inſulting abuſe. You will be accuſed of the moſt oppreſſive ty- ranny, and the groſſeſt fraud. If it be poſſible to poi- ſon the minds of the public, by making this body ri- diculous or contemptible, they will have the faireſt opportunity of doing ſo, that ever was put in their hands; but I muſt return to our plundered, long ruined friends; we cannot ſay to what their rage and diſappoint- ment may bring them; we know that nothing on earth is ſo deeply reſentful, as deſpiſed or rejected love—whether they may proceed to any violent or diſorderly meaſures, it is impoſſible to know. We have an old proverb, That the eyes will break through ſtone walls, and for my own part, I ſhould very much dread the furious and vio- lent efforts of deſpair. Would to God, that the indepen- dence of America was once eſtabliſhed by a treaty of peace in Europe; for we know that in all great and fierce po- litical contentions, the effect of power and circumſtances

is very great; and that if the tide has run long with great violence one way, if it does not fully reach its purpoſe, and is by any means brought to a ſtand, it is apt to take a direction, and return with the ſame or greater violence than it advanced. Muſt this be riſked at a criſis when the people begin to be fatigued with the war, to feel the heavy expence of it, by paying taxes; and when the enemy, convinced of their folly in their former ſeverities are doing every thing they can to ingratiate themſelves with the public at large. But though our friends ſhould not be induced to take violent and ſeditious meaſures all at once, I am almoſt certain it will produce a particular hatred and contempt of Congreſs, the repreſentative body of the union, and ſtill a greater hatred of the individuals who compoſe the body at this time. One thing will undoubtedly happen; that it will greatly abate the reſpect which is due from the public to this body, and therefore weaken their authority in all other parts of their proceedings.

I beg leave to ſay, Sir, that in all probability it will lay the foundation for other greater and more ſcandalous ſteps of the ſame kind. You will ſay what greater can there be? Look back a little to your hiſtory. The firſt great and deliberate breach of public faith, was the act of March 18th, 1780, reducing the money to forty for one, which was declaring you would pay your debt at ſix-pence in the pound —But did it not turn? No, by and by it was ſet in this ſtate and others at ſeventy-five, and finally ſet one hundred and fifty for one, in new paper in ſtate paper, which in ſix months, roſe to four for one. Now, Sir, what will be the caſe with theſe certificates? Before this propoſal was known, their fixed price was about half a crown for a dollar, of the eſtimated depreciated value; when this reſolution is fairly fixed, they will immediately fall in value, perhaps to a ſhilling the dollar, probably leſs. Multitudes of people in deſpair, and abſolute neceſſity, will ſell them for next to nothing, and when the holders come at laſt to apply for their money, I think it highly probable, you will give them a ſcale of depreciation, and tell them, they coſt ſo little, that it would be an injury to the public to pay the full value. And in truth, Sir, ſup-

poſing you finally to pay the full value of the certificates to the holders, the original and moſt meritorious proprietors will in many, perhaps in moſt caſes, loſe the whole.

It will be very proper to conſider what effect this will have upon foreign nations; certainly it will ſet us in a moſt contemptible light. We are juſt beginning to appear among the powers of the earth, and it may be ſaid of national, as of private characters, they ſoon begin to form, and when diſadvantageous ideas are formed, they are not eaſily altered or deſtroyed. In the very inſtance before us, many of theſe certificates are poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of foreign princes, and indeed are in foreign parts. We muſt not think that other ſovereigns will ſuffer their ſubjects to be plundered in ſo wanton and extravagant a manner. You have on your files, letters from the Count de Vergennes, on the ſubject of your former depreciation; in which he tells you, that whatever liberty you take with your own ſubjects, you muſt not think of treating the ſubjects of France in the ſame way; and it is not impoſſible that you may hear upon this ſubject, what you little expect, when the terms of peace are to be ſettled. I do not in the leaſt doubt that it may be demanded that you ſhould pay to the full of its nominal value, all the money as well as loan-office certificates, which ſhall be found in the hands of the ſubjects of France, Spain or Holland, and it would be perfectly juſt. I have mentioned France, &c. but it is not only not impoſſible, but highly probable, that by accident or danger, or both, many of theſe loan-office certificates may be in the hands of Engliſh ſubjects. Do you think they will not demand payment? Do you think they will make any difference between their being before or after March 1ſt, 1778? And will you preſent them with a ſcale of depreciation? Remember the affair of the Canada bills, in the laſt peace between England and France—I wiſh we could take example from our enemies. How many fine diſſertations have we upon the merit of national truth and honor in Great-Britain. Can we think without bluſhing, upon our contrary conduct in the matter of finance? By their punctuality in fulfilling their engagements as to intereſt, they have been able to ſupport

a load of debt altogether enormous. Be pleaſed to obſerve, Sir, that they are not wholly without experience of depreciation: navy debentures and ſailor's tickets have been frequently ſold at an half, and ſometimes even at a third of their value; by that means they ſeem to be held by that claſs of men called by us ſpeculators. Did that government ever think of preſenting the holders of them, when they came to be paid, with a ſcale of depreciation? The very idea of it would knock the whole ſyſtem of public credit to pieces.

But the importance of this matter will be felt before the end of the war. We are at this time earneſtly ſoliciting foreign loans. With what face can we expect to have credit in foreign parts, and in future loans, after we have ſo notoriouſly broken every engagement which we have hitherto made? A diſpoſition to pay, and viſible probable means of payment, are abſolutely neceſſary to credit; and where that is once eſtabliſhed, it is not difficult to borrow. If it may be a mean of turning the attention of Congreſs to this ſubject, I beg of them to obſerve, that if they could but lay down a foundation of credit, they would get money enough to borrow in this country, where we are. There is property enough here; and, comparatively ſpeaking, there is a greater number of perſons here who would prefer money at intereſt to purchaſing and holding real eſtates. The ideas of all old country people are high in favor of real eſtate. Though the intereſt of money, even upon the very beſt ſecurity there, is from four to four and a half, four and three quarters and five per centum; yet when any real eſtate is to be ſold, there will be ten purchaſers where one only can obtain it, and it will coſt ſo much as not to bring more than two, two and a half, and at moſt three per centum.

It is quite otherwiſe in this country, and indeed it ought to be otherwiſe. To purchaſe an eſtate in the cultivated parts of the country, except what a man poſſeſſes himſelf, will not be near ſo profitable as the intereſt of money; and in many caſes where it is rented out, it is ſo waſted and worn by the tenant, that it would be a greater profit at the end of ſeven years, that the land had been left to itſelf,

to bear woods and bushes that should rot upon the ground, without any rent at all. Any body also may see, that it is almost universal in this country, when a man dies leaving infant children, that the executors sell all his property to turn it into money, and put it in securities for easy and equal division.

All these things, Mr. President, proceed upon certain and indubitable principles, which never fail of their effect. Therefore, you have only to make your payments as soon, as regular, and as profitable as other borrowers, and you will get all the money you want; and by a small advantage over others, it will be poured in upon you, so that you shall not need to go to the lenders, for they will come to you.

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON THE APPOINTMENT OF

PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

I AM ſorry to obſerve, that after going through the inſtructions to be given to our plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries, we ſhould have ſo warm a debate, and indeed ſeem to be ſo equally divided upon the queſtion, whether there ſhould be one or more to whom we will entruſt the negociation.

As to the practice of European nations, I believe it is ſo various as not to afford any argument on one ſide or the other: we may appoint one or more—there will be nothing ſingular or remarkable in it, ſo as to make our conduct look like ignorance in ſuch matters. I am inclined to think, however, that negociations are generally conducted near to their concluſion, by one confidential perſon, though after the more important preliminaries are ſettled, more may be ſometimes appointed, to give greater ſolemnity to the concluſion. We are therefore at liberty to determine ourſelves wholly by the general reaſon and nature of the thing, and our own particular circumſtances.

As to the firſt of theſe, on the ſide of one perſon, it may be ſaid, there will be more preciſion, more expedition, more uniformity, and more certainty of agreement with others and conſiſtency with himſelf. And the perſon whom we have

employed, is a man of ſound and clear underſtanding, and has had the advantage of being a long time in Europe, and no doubt has been turning his thoughts, and making enquiries, upon the ſubject ever ſince he went there; ſo that we may ſuppoſe him pretty ripely adviſed.

On the other ſide, it may be ſaid, that, if alone, he might be at a loſs; and that it would be of advantage to him to have the advice of others. It is even ſaid, that there is a neceſſity of others better acquainted with parts of the country different from thoſe with which he has been chiefly connected.—As to council, that does not ſtrike me much—perhaps there is greater ſafety in one than three; becauſe he is fully reſponſible; whereas if a common council is taken, the blame is divided, and every one is leſs difficulted to juſtify his conduct in the iſſue. Beſides, is there no danger to the cauſe itſelf, from an obſtinate diviſion of ſentiments in thoſe who are entruſted with the conduct of it? This would expoſe us, in the opinion of thoſe who obſerved it, and might perhaps give leſs reſpect to what each or all of them might ſay or do.

As to the neceſſity of perſons from different parts of the country, it is not eaſy to conceive what circumſtances, in a negociation of this kind, can be peculiar to one part of the country more than another. If it were to make rules for the internal government, taxation, or commerce of the ſtates, there would be ſome force in the remark; but when it is only to make peace for the liberty and protection of all, there ſeems to be little weight in it.

But now let us conſider our particular circumſtances. Mention has been made of the difference between Mr. Adams and the count de Vergennes. I have given particular attention to all that was ſaid in his letter upon that ſubject, and all that has been ſaid by the miniſter of France here; and there was not one hint given that could lead us to think it was their deſire or expectation that he ſhould be diſmiſſed or ſuperſeded, or even bridled by the addition of others in the commiſſion. We have fully complied with their deſire upon this ſubject, in the inſtructions. There is the greateſt reaſon to think that they are well ſatisfied upon it. But if we ſhould ſtill go further,

and either diſcharge him, or do what is in ſubſtance the ſame, or might be ſuppoſed or conceived by him to be the ſame, this would be rather an act of too great obſequiouſneſs, and but an ill example for the future conduct of our affairs. What we do now, will be often mentioned in after times; and if the like practice prevail, it will diſcourage public ſervants from fidelity, and leſſen their dignity and firmneſs. There is alſo ſome reaſon to fear that there may not be the moſt perfect agreement among them; and if a jealouſy in point of affection between them ſhould ariſe, it might be ſtill more fatal than a difference in opinion. You may obſerve, that Dr. Franklin particularly mentions the impropriety of having more miniſters than one at one court, and in the ſame place. We have felt the bad conſequences of that already in more inſtances than one. Congreſs were led into ſuch ſteps as ended in our parting with Mr. Lee, chiefly by the argument of his being diſagreeable to the French court; and though he was in my opinion one of the moſt able, faithful and active ſervants we ever had, and certainly one of the moſt diſintereſted—he was but barely able to go off, with a cold ceremonial adieu, that had very little in it of a grateful ſenſe of his ſervices, or cordial approbation. It is not pleaſant to reflect, Mr. Preſident, that ſo early in the hiſtory of this new ſtate, perſons in public employment ſhould be ſo prone to enter into ambitious contention, and puſh one another into diſgrace.

I cannot help putting you in mind, upon this ſubject, of what has juſt now come to light. You are informed by the French court, in the moſt authentic manner, and indeed if I am not miſtaken it is by implication at leaſt in the king's letter, that you had been ill ſerved by the people you employed there, and cheated both in point of quality and price; and that on this account they intend to give directions on that ſubject themſelves. Now, ſir, perhaps it may be news to many members of this body, that theſe were the very contracts made by Mr. Dean, without the knowledge or conſent of Mr. Lee, of which Mr. Lee loudly complained. Theſe were the very ſervants whoſe accounts Mr. Lee objected to, and whoſe conduct he cen-

ſured. But what did he get by it? Mr. Dean was ſupported by his venerable old friend, as he called him: Mr. Lee was complained of as jealous and troubleſome, and diſagreeable to the court of France; and not only oppoſed and ſlighted by many members of this houſe, but I may ſay attacked and perſecuted in ſuch a manner, that if he had not been ſupported with a generous frankneſs by others, might have ended in public infamy.

I have juſt further upon this ſubject to obſerve, that you very lately ſent a new miniſter to the French court, Mr. Laurens—a meaſure much diſapproved by many; and it was then foretold, it would be a diſgraceful thing to Dr. Franklin. Probably he has conceived it in that light; and as he has no deſire at all to return home, I am well convinced that this is the true cauſe of the deſire expreſſed in his laſt letter to reſign his commiſſion.

Some have mentioned the importance of the matter, and that the chance is greater againſt corruption, where three are to be taken off, than one. It is very true, that *ceteris paribus*, as is commonly ſaid, there is a greater chance for one incorruptible perſon in three than in one; but there are ſingle perſons in whom I would confide as much as in ten. And beſides, the thing may be taken the other way; for there is a greater chance of finding one corruptible perſon in three than in one; and in a commiſſion of that nature, one traitor is able to do much miſchief, though the others are perfectly upright. He, being admitted into the ſecret, may not only diſcloſe meaſures, but perplex them, let the abilities of his colleagues be what they will. I have ſeen a man in Congreſs, who upon the ſuppoſition of his being a traitor, I am ſure had addreſs enough to draw many into his meaſures—many not contemptible in underſtanding, and ſincerely attached to their country's cauſe.

Before I conclude, I would ſay a little upon our circumſtances in another reſpect. The firſt appearances we make upon the public ſtage, are of conſequence. It is to be wiſhed therefore, that the credit of the United States were conſulted. If we were ſure that our commiſſioners would be immediately admitted to public and co-ordinate

ſeſſion with the other plenipotentiaries, perhaps a commiſſion of three would be auguſt and honorable; but if, as I ſtrongly ſuſpect will be the caſe, they are not at firſt publicly admitted at all, but obliged to negociate through the plenipotentiaries of France—if, as is not impoſſible, even in the ſettlement of the treaty, we are not conſidered as the formal contracting parties at all, but our intereſt attended to in articles as it were occaſionally introduced—if this is done, as a ſalvo to the honor of England, and to purchaſe for us advantages ſubſtantial and durable, a pompous commiſſion to a number of delegates will rather leſſen our dignity, and detract from our wiſdom and caution.

Upon the whole, ſir, I am of opinion that it would be much better to aſſign to one the commiſſion already given with the inſtructions which have been cordially agreed upon, and ſeem to be in every reſpect agreeable to the deſires of the court of France, and the opinion of the king's miniſter in this country.

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON THE

CONVENTION

WITH

GENERAL BURGOYNE.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

I AM ſenſible, as every other gentleman in this houſe ſeems to be, of the great importance of the preſent queſtion. It is of much moment, as to private perſons, ſo to every incorporated ſociety, to preſerve its faith and honor in ſolemn contracts: and it is eſpecially ſo to us, as repreſenting the United States of America, aſſociated ſo lately, and juſt beginning to appear upon the public ſtage. I hope, therefore, we ſhall deteſt the thoughts of embracing any meaſure which ſhall but appear to be mean, captious, or inſidious, whatever advantage may ſeem to ariſe from it. On the other hand, as the intereſt of this continent is committed to our care, it is our duty, and it will be expected of us, that we give the utmoſt attention that the public ſuffer no injury by deception, or abuſe and inſult, on the part of our enemies.

On the firſt of theſe principles, it is clearly my opinion that we ought, agreeably to the ſpirit of the firſt reſolution reported, to find, That the convention is not ſo broken, on the part of general Burgoyne, as to entitle us to refuſe compliance

with it on ours, and detain him and his army as priſoners of war. I admit that there is ſomething very ſuſpicious in the circumſtance of the colours, when compared with his letter in the London Gazette, which makes mention of the Britiſh colours being ſeen flying upon the fort. I agree, at the ſame time, that the pretence of the cartouch boxes not being mentioned in the convention, is plainly an evaſion. They ought, in fair conſtruction, to be comprehended under more expreſſions of that capitulation than one—arms—ammunition—warlike ſtores. They were ſo underſtood at the capitulation of St. John's. In this preſent inſtance many of them were delivered up, which certainly ought to have been the caſe with all or none. And once more, I admit that the detention of the bayonets in the inſtances in which it was done, was undeniably unjuſt.

As to the firſt of theſe particulars, I am unwilling to diſtruſt the honor of a gentleman ſolemnly given; and therefore, as general Burgoyne has given his honor to general Gates, that the colors were left in Canada, I ſuppoſe it is ſubſtantially true, whatever ſmall exception there might be to it. The colors ſeen flying at Ticonderoga, were perhaps old colors occaſionally found there, or perhaps taken from ſome of the veſſels lying at that place, and left there when the army proceeded further up the country. This is the rather probable, that if the regiments in general had had colors, they muſt have been ſeen very frequently by our army in the battles, or upon the march.

As to the other circumſtances, they are ſo mean and little in their nature, that I ſuppoſe them to have ariſen from the indiſcretion of individuals, quite unknown to the commander in chief, or even to the officers in general.

We ought alſo to conſider that it was ſo unexpected, and muſt have been ſo humiliating a thing, for a whole Britiſh army to ſurrender their arms, and deliver themſelves up priſoners to thoſe of whom they had been accuſtomed to ſpeak with ſuch contempt and diſdain—that it is not to be wondered at, if the common ſoldiers did ſome things out of ſpite and ill humor, not to be juſtified. To

all theſe conſiderations, I will only add, that though the want of the colors deprives us of ſome enſigns of triumph which it would have been very grateful to the different ſtates to have diſtributed among them, and to have preſerved as monuments of our victory, the other things are ſo trifling and uneſſential, that it would probably be conſidered as taking an undue advantage, if we ſhould retain the whole army here on that account. I would therefore, ſir, have it clearly aſſerted, that though we are not inſenſible of thoſe irregularities, and they may contribute to make us attentive to what ſhall hereafter paſs before the embarkation, we do not conſider them as ſuch breaches of the convention, as will authorize us in juſtice to declare it void.

On the other hand, ſir, it is our indiſpenſible duty to uſe the greateſt vigilance, and to act with the greateſt firmneſs, in ſeeing that juſtice be done to the American States. Not only caution, but what I may call jealouſy and ſuſpicion, is neither unreaſonable nor indecent in ſuch a caſe. This will be juſtified by the knowledge of mankind. Hiſtory affords us many examples of evaſive and artful conduct in ſome of the greateſt men and moſt reſpectable nations, when hard preſſed by their neceſſities, or when a great advantage was in view. The behavior of the Romans when their army was taken at the Caudine Forks may be produced as one. The conduct of the Samnites was not over-wiſe; but that of the Romans was diſhonorable to the laſt degree, though there are civilians who defend it. Their conſul, after his army had paſſed through the yoke, a ſymbol at that time of the utmoſt infamy, made a peace with the Samnites. The ſenate refuſed to ratify it; but kept up a ſhew of regard to the faith plighted, by delivering up the conſul to the Samnites, to be uſed as they thought proper. That people anſwered, as was eaſily ſuggeſted by plain common ſenſe, that it was no reparation at all to them to torment or put one man to death; but that if they diſavowed the treaty, they ought to ſend back the army to the ſame ſpot of ground in which they had been ſurrounded. No ſuch thing, however, was done. But the Romans, notwith-

ſtanding, immediately broke the league; and with the ſame army which had been let go, or a great part of it, brought the unhappy Samnites to deſtruction.—Such inſtances may be brought from modern as well as ancient times. It is even the opinion of many perſons of the beſt judgment, that the convention entered into by the late duke of Cumberland, was by no means ſtrictly obſerved by the court of London.

When I conſider this, ſir, I confeſs I look upon the expreſſion in general Burgoyne's letter to general Gates, of November 14, as of the moſt alarming nature. For no other or better reaſon, even ſo much as pretended, than that his quarters were not ſo commodious as he expected, he declares *the public faith is broke, and we are the immediate ſufferers.* In this he expreſsly declares and ſubſcribes his opinion, that the convention is broken on our part; and in the laſt expreſſion, we are the *immediate* ſufferers, every perſon muſt perceive a menacing intimation of who ſhall be the ſufferers when he ſhall have it in his power.

Being ſufficiently ſettled as to the principle on which I ſhall found my opinion, it is unneceſſary for me to give an account of the law of nature and nations, or to heap up citations from the numerous writers on that ſubject. But that what I ſhall ſay may have the greater force, I beg it may be obſerved, that the law of nature and nations is nothing elſe but the law of general reaſon, or thoſe obligations of duty from reaſon and conſcience, on one individual to another, antecedent to any particular law derived from the ſocial compact, or even actual conſent. On this account, it is called the law of nature; and becauſe there are very rarely to be found any parties in ſuch a free ſtate with regard to each other, except independent nations, therefore it is alſo called the law of nations. One nation to another is juſt as man to man in a ſtate of nature. Keeping this in view, a perſon of integrity will paſs as ſound a judgment on ſubjects of this kind, by conſulting his own heart, as by turning over books and ſyſtems. The chief uſe of books and ſyſtems, is to apply the principle to particular caſes and ſuppoſitions differently claſſed, and to point out the practice of nations in

ſeveral minute and ſpecial particulars, which unleſs aſcertained by practice, would be very uncertain and ambiguous.

But, ſir, I muſt beg your attention, and that of the houſe, to the nature of the caſe before us—at leaſt as I think it ought to be ſtated. I am afraid that ſome members may be miſled, by conſidering this declaration of general Burgoyne as an irregularity of the ſame ſpecies, if I may ſpeak ſo, with the other indiſcretions or even frauds, if you pleaſe to call them ſo, of withholding the cartouch boxes, or hiding or ſtealing the bayonets. The queſtion is not, whether this or the other thing done by the army is a breach of the convention. I have for my part given up all theſe particulars, and declared my willingneſs to ratify the convention after I have heard them and believe them to be true. But we have here the declared opinion of one of the parties, that the public faith is broken by the other. Now, the ſimpleſt man in the world knows, that a mutual onerous contract is always conditional; and that if the condition fails on one ſide, whether from neceſſity or fraud, the other is free. Therefore we have reaſon to conclude, that if Mr. Burgoyne is of opinion that the convention is broken on our part, he will not hold to it on his. He would act the part of a fool if he did. It is of no conſequence to ſay his opinion is ill-founded or unjuſt, as it manifeſtly is in the preſent caſe; for whether it is juſt or unjuſt, if it is *really* his opinion (and we ſhould wrong his ſincerity to doubt it) the conſequences are the ſame with reſpect to us. Men do often, perhaps generally, adhere with greater obſtinacy to opinions that are ill, than thoſe that are well founded, and avenge imaginary or trifling injuries with greater violence than thoſe that are real and great. Nay, we may draw an argument for our danger from the very injuſtice of his complaint. If he has conceived the convention to be broken on ſo frivolous a pretence as that his lodging is not quite commodious, after the juſt caution inſerted by general Gates in the preliminary articles, what have we to expect from him as ſoon as he ſhall recover his liberty, and the power of doing miſchief? It ſhews a diſ-

poſition to find fault, and an impatience under his preſent confinement; the future effects of which we have the greateſt reaſon to dread.

The more I conſider this matter, ſir, the more it ſtrikes me with its force. General Gates ſays upon the ſubject of accommodation, *granted as far as circumstances will admit.* Was not this proper and neceſſary? It was very natural to ſuppoſe that general Burgoyne, accuſtomed to the ſplendor of the Britiſh court, and poſſeſſed with ideas of his own importance, would be but ill pleaſed with the beſt accommodations that could be obtained for him, and his numerous followers, in one of the frugal ſtates of New-England. It was alſo in the neighborhood of a place not in the leaſt expecting the honor of ſuch gueſts, which had been long the ſeat of war—which had been exhauſted by our army, and plundered by their's. One would have thought that the recollection of the ruin of Charleſtown, the burning of which, if I miſtake not, in a letter of his from Boſton to England, he calls a glorious light, might have prevented his complaints, even though he had leſs elbow room than he wiſhed for. But as circumſtances ſtand, by what conduct ſhall we be able to ſatisfy him? When will pretences ever be wanting to one ſeeking to prove the convention broken, when it is his inclination or his intereſt to do ſo.

It has been ſaid, ſir, that we ought not to take this declaration of his in ſo ſerious a manner; that it was written raſhly, and in the heat of paſſion; and that he did not mean that we ſhould dread ſuch conſequences from it. All this I believe to be ſtrictly true. It probably fell from him in paſſion—and very unadviſedly. But is he he firſt perſon that has raſhly betrayed his own miſchievous deſigns? Or is this a reaſon for our not availing ourſelves of the happy diſcovery? His folly in this inſtance is our good fortune. He is a man, ſir, whom I never ſaw, though I have been more than once in England; but if I ſhould ſay I did not know him, after having read his lofty and ſonorous proclamation, and ſome other productions, I ſhould ſay what was not true. He is evidently a man ſhowy, vain, impetuous and raſh. It is reported of gene-

ral Gates, from whom I never heard that any other words of boaſting or oſtentation fell, that he ſaid he knew Burgoyne, and that he could build a wall for him to run his head againſt. I do not by any means approve of boaſting in general. I think a man ſhould not boaſt of what he has done, much leſs of what he only means to do; yet I cannot help ſaying, that this was a moſt accurate prediction, which, with the event that followed it, plainly points out to us the character of general Burgoyne. Do you think that ſuch a man would not take the advantage of this pretended breach of the convention on our part; and endeavor to wipe off the reproach of his late ignominious ſurrender by ſome ſignal or deſperate undertaking? —

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ON THE

PPOPOSED MARKET

IN

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CAMP.

To his Excellency General Washington, and the Officers of the American Army.

SIR,

ABOUT ten days ago, I was informed that you were conſulting with the farmers in the neighborhood, and laying a plan for holding a market at the camp. This was to me, the moſt pleaſing news I had heard from camp for a long time. I ſuppoſed that you had now diſcovered the true and proper way of providing comforts and refreſhments to your ſoldiers, which, pardon me, I think has hitherto, in God's moſt holy will, been *hid from your eyes.* Laſt week's news-paper brought us the plan, in which I have been ſo much diſappointed, that I have taken pen in hand, to make a few remarks upon it, and ſubmit them to your view. Reſt aſſured that they come from a firm friend to American liberty, who has felt the tyranny of general Howe, and therefore holds him and his cauſe in deteſtation. You are not to expect from a plain country farmer, high ſounding language, and well turned phraſes—It is poſſible I may be held in deriſion for this, by ſome of your learned generals; for I am told you have ſome who can write full as well as they can fight, perhaps better; be that however as it may, I mean to write only of what I think I underſtand, and ſhall make uſe of the plaineſt words poſſible, that I may be underſtood.

I muſt begin by ſaying, that if you are under any difficulty in ſupplying your army, either with the neceſſaries or conveniencies of life, it is wholly owing to miſtaken principles, or unfaithful conduct in the manner of procuring them. You are in the midſt of a plentiful country —You command it by your ſword, except a ſmall ſpot in which the enemy is confined; and I moſt heartily wiſh you would pen them in cloſer than you do.—You have alſo the hearts of the country; for let people talk as they pleaſe of the number of tories, they are altogether inconſiderable to the friends of liberty in every ſtate in this continent. When the Engliſh army leaves any place, we do not need your army to conquer it for us. All that were friends to them, fly with them, or ſkulk into corners, trembling for their lives. Let us conſider then how the matter ſtands—Your army conſiſts, I ſhall ſuppoſe at preſent, of 20,000 men; for though it was conſiderably larger lately, I reckon from the number gone home on recruiting parties, and for other reaſons, that may be about or near the truth. Suppoſe it however 25,000; if theſe were diſtributed one in every houſe, for the twenty-five thouſand houſes that are neareſt to the camp, they would not reach ſo far eaſt as the Delaware, nor ſo far weſt as Lancaſter; and though no proviſions were brought into that ſpace on their account, they could be well fed, and the burden never felt. This ſhows that the whole difficulty ariſes from the neceſſity of procuring and tranſporting proviſions to ſuch a number of men collected together in one place, a difficulty which one would think might be eaſily ſurmounted. It is not my intention at preſent, to make remarks on the commiſſary's department for ſupplying the capital neceſſaries, though I want not inclination. Suffice it to ſay, that for refreſhments and ſmaller neceſſaries, you are now making an attempt towards the only effectual way, viz. a market, or in other words, inviting people to bring them to you of their own accord.

Now, Sir, I have read and conſidered your plan, the chief part of which is ſettling the prices of a variety of articles, which it is expected will be expoſed to ſale. Fixing the price of commodities, has been attempted by law

in ſeveral ſtates among us, and it has increaſed the evil it was meant to remedy, as the ſame practice ever has done ſince the beginning of the world. Such laws, when they only ſay men ſhall be puniſhed if they ſell at any higher prices than the legal, and that if any will not ſell at theſe prices, their goods ſhall be taken by force, have ſome meaning in them, though little wiſdom: but to publiſh a liſt of fixed prices, as an encouragement to a weekly market, is a new ſtrain of policy indeed. If people bring their goods to market, and are willing to ſell them at theſe, or lower prices, is not that enough? And if they are not willing to ſell, how ſhall they be made willing to come? Probably you were told theſe were reaſonable prices; now I ſhould be glad to know what you call a reaſonable price. If it be that which is proportioned to the demand on the one ſide, and the plenty or ſcarcity of goods on the other, I agree to it; but I affirm that this will fix of itſelf, by the conſent of the buyer and ſeller, better than it can be done by any politician upon earth. If you mean any thing elſe, it ſignifies nothing at all, whether it be *reasonable* or not; for if it is not *agreeable*, as well as reaſonable, you might have one market day, but not a ſecond. There are ſome things which are not the object of human laws, and ſuch are all thoſe that eſſentially depend for their ſucceſs upon inward inclination. Laws, force, or any kind of limitation, are ſo far from having any tendency of themſelves, to perſuade or incline, that they have generally the contrary effect. It would be much to the advantage of many lawgivers and other perſons in authority, if they would carefully diſtinguiſh between what is to be effected by force, and what by perſuaſion, and never prepoſterouſly mix theſe oppoſite principles, and defeat the operation of both. Laws and authority compel; but it is reaſon and intereſt that muſt perſuade.

The fixing of prices by authority, is not only impolitic, as I have ſhewn above, but it is in itſelf unreaſonable and abſurd. There are ſo many different circumſtances to be taken in to conſtitute equality or juſtice in ſuch matters, that they cannot be all attended to, or even aſcertained. The plenty of one kind of proviſion, and ſcarcity of ano-

ther—The plenty in one corner of the country, and ſcarcity in another—The diſtance of one place, and nearneſs of another—The changes of circumſtances in the courſe of a few weeks or days—Good or bad roads, or good or bad weather—The comparative quality of the goods—Theſe, and an hundred other circumſtances which can never be foreſeen, actually govern the prices of goods at market, and ought to govern them. If a price is juſt to one who brings his goods fifteen miles, it is certainly too much for one who brings them only one. If ten pence per pound is a juſt price for veal at preſent, I am certain it muſt be too much a month hence, when veal will be much more plentiful; and yet the graſs not yet come on. If one ſhilling and four pence per pound is reaſonable for a fat turkey, ought not I to have more for a fatter, which is both better in its quality and weight—being lighter to its bulk, becauſe fat is not ſo heavy as either lean fleſh or bones. If it is reaſonable to pay me one ſhilling per pound for any meat in a good day, I ſhall expect more if I go out in a ſtorm; if not, I will ſtay at home on a bad day, and ſo you muſt ſtarve one week, and pamper the next.

All theſe circumſtances you muſt allow to reſtrain and limit one another. He who is neareſt, and has goods in plenty, will by ſelling cheap, moderate the demands of him who comes far. If you pay very dear for any article one day, the news of that ſpreading abroad, brings in prodigious quantities, and the price falls, and ſo it happens in every other caſe. Thus it appears that it is out of your power to tell what is a reaſonable price, and by attempting to do it, you not only refuſe to gratify the expectations of the people, but you treat them with injuſtice.

I have one more remark to make upon this ſubject; that to fix the prices of goods, eſpecially proviſions in a market, is as impracticable as it is unreaſonable. The whole perſons concerned, buyers and ſellers, will uſe every art to defeat it, and will certainly ſucceed.— —

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ADDRESS

TO

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

THE Preſident and Faculty of the College of New-Jerſey, beg leave to embrace this opportunity of congratulating your Excellency on the preſent happy and promiſing ſtate of public affairs; and of ſincerely wiſhing you proſperity and ſucceſs in the enſuing campaign, and in what may yet remain of the important conflict in which the United States are engaged.

As this College, devoted to the intereſts of religion and learning, was among the firſt places of America, that ſuffered from the ravages of the enemy—ſo, happily, this place and neighborhood was the ſcene of one of the moſt important and ſeaſonable checks which they received in their progreſs. The ſurpriſe of the Heſſians at Trenton, and the ſubſequent victory at Princeton, redounded much to the honor of the commander who planned, and the handful of troops which executed the meaſures; yet were they even of greater moment to the cauſe of America, than they were brilliant as particular military exploits.

We contemplate and adore the wiſdom and goodneſs of divine Providence, as diſplayed in favor of the United States in many inſtances during the courſe of the war; but in none more than in the unanimous appointment of your Excellency to the command of the army. When we conſider

the continuance of your life and health—the diſcernment, prudence, fortitude and patience of your conduct, by which you have not only ſacrificed, as others have done, perſonal eaſe and property, but frequently even reputation itſelf, in the public cauſe, chuſing rather to riſque your own name than expoſe the nakedneſs of your country—when we conſider the great and growing attachment of the army, and the cordial eſteem of all ranks of men, and of every ſtate in the Union, which you have ſo long enjoyed—we cannot help being of opinion, that God himſelf has raiſed you up as a fit and proper inſtrument for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the liberty and happineſs of theſe States.

We pray that the Almighty may continue to protect and bleſs you—that the late ſignal ſucceſs of the American arms, may pave the way to a ſpeedy and laſting peace; and that, having ſurvived ſo much fatigue, and ſo many dangers, you may enjoy many years of honorable repoſe in the boſom of your grateful country.

JOHN WITHERSPOON.

LETTER

SENT TO

SCOTLAND,

FOR THE

SCOTS MAGAZINE.

I AM informed by my correſpondents in Scotland, that ſeveral letters have been publiſhed in the newſpapers there, containing the moſt virulent reflections upon me, on account of an advertiſement by J— P——, merchant of Glaſgow, relating to the ſettlement of a tract of land in Nova Scotia, in which he mentions my being concerned. One or two of theſe papers have been ſent me, and contain ſo many miſtakes in point of fact, as well as betray ſuch ignorance of the ſubject they attempt to treat, that it would be a diſgrace for any man to enter into a formal quarrel with ſuch opponents. Were I in Scotland at this time, I ſhould think it a very great departure from prudence, to take the leaſt public notice of theſe invectives. Few perſons have been leſs concerned than I have been, through life, to contradict falſe accuſations, from an opinion which I formed early, and which has been confirmed by experience, that there is ſcarcely any thing more harmleſs than political or party malice. It is

beſt to leave it to itſelf; oppoſition and contradiction are the only means of giving it life and duration.

But as I am now at ſo great a diſtance, and the ſubject of the ſcandal is what paſſes in America, ſo that impartial perſons in general, may be leſs able to judge of the probability of facts, and cannot have proper opportunities of making a complete enquiry, I think it neceſſary to ſtate this matter with all the perſpicuity and brevity of which I am capable. The accuſation, I think, may be reduced to the following argument—Migrations from Britain to America, are not only hurtful, but tend to the ruin of that kingdom; therefore, J. W. by inviting people to leave Scotland, and ſettle in America, is an enemy to his country.

It will not be improper to mention in the entry, that my having any concern in ſuch an extenſive undertaking, was wholly accidental and unexpected. I was invited and preſſed to it, from a motive that was not at all concealed, that it would give the people who intended to come out, greater confidence that they ſhould meet with fair treatment. This very reaſon induced me to conſent; and that I might the more effectually anſwer that purpoſe, one of the expreſs conditions of my joining with the company was, that no land ſhould be ſold dearer to any coming from Scotland, than I ſhould direct. This was the more neceſſary, that either through miſtake, and the power of European ideas, or through miſguided avarice, ſome advertiſements had been publiſhed in the Scots newſpapers, which would not appear ſurpriſing to perſons born and educated in Scotland, but which are infinitely ridiculous to one acquainted with American affairs. In particular, one I cut out of a Glaſgow newſpaper, and ſent home, relating to Newfoundland, where perſons were invited to go to make their fortunes, by renting each family thirty acres of land, at the eaſy rent of ſix-pence ſterling at firſt, and gradually riſing till it came to two ſhillings yearly for ever. Now how abſurd is this, when in many places you can buy the fee ſimple of land for the ſame or leſs money than is here aſked for rent? Beſides, how ſhall thirty acres of land maintain any family, in a place where land is ſo cheap, and labor ſo dear?

I have heard it given as a reaſon for theſe enſnaring propoſals, that people in Britain will not believe that land is good for any thing, if you offer it for a few ſhillings per acre in fee ſimple. But the people in Britain ſhould be told, that the value of land does not depend upon its quality, unleſs in a very ſmall degree—It depends upon its ſituation, diſtance from other ſettlements, and many circumſtances that need not be mentioned. It is a matter now as fully aſcertained, as univerſal uncontradicted teſtimony can make it, that the back land in America, is in general better than that along the ſhore, though very different in value; becauſe the one is full of trees and wild beaſts, and the other is full of houſes, fields and orchards. One would think that this matter might be well enough underſtood by this time. When a new ſettlement is making, eſpecially if one family or one company have a very large tract, they will ſell it very cheap; and if they are urgent to forward the ſettlement, they will give it to one or two families at firſt for nothing at all; and their profit does not ariſe from the price paid by the firſt purchaſers, but from the proſpect of ſpeedily raiſing the value of what remains. Any man that can think, may underſtand this from J— P——'s advertiſement. He propoſes to ſell to the firſt families, at ſix-pence ſterling an acre. What profit could he make of that ſmall price? Suppoſing he ſhould ſell 20,000 acres, the whole produce would be but five hundred pounds, to be divided among twelve or fourteen perſons. The plain fact is, that the ſum is not at all equivalent to the trouble and expence of ſerving out the patent; therefore the profit muſt be future, and muſt ariſe wholly from the proſperity of the ſettlement. I believe it is a rule without any exception, that a man's duty is his intereſt; but there is no caſe whatever, in which the intereſt of both parties is more manifeſtly the ſame, than in ſelling and purchaſing new lands to ſettle upon; for the proprietors can receive no benefit, but from the ſucceſs and thriving of the ſettlers.

New land may be bought in America at all prices, from ſix-pence ſterling an acre, to forty ſhillings; and thoſe who would judge of the quality by the price, would do

juſt as one who ſhould judge that an acre ſold for a houſe in the city, muſt be twenty times better in ſoil, than the fields at two miles diſtance, becauſe it is twenty times the price. The price of land in America, is riſing very faſt, and ſometimes riſes in particular places, far more rapidly than could be foreſeen. A gentleman who has a large tract in New-York government, within theſe three years, offered to give away for nothing, ſeveral thouſand acres, at the rate of two hundred acres to each family of actual ſettlers, and yet has given away none; but ſince that time has ſold a great deal at four ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling, and now will ſcarce ſell any at that price.

Having premiſed the above, I would intreat the reader's attention to the following remarks:

1. There is very little ground for being alarmed at the migrations from Britain to America. The numbers who come abroad, never have been, and probably never will be of any conſequence to the population of the country. Any one who will read Monteſquieu, will ſoon be ſatisfied that when the ſpirit and principles of a conſtitution are good, occaſional migrations, and even war, famine and peſtilence, are hardly felt after a little time. The place of thoſe who are removed is ſpeedily filled. Two or three hundred families going abroad, makes a great noiſe; but it is nothing at all to the people in Great Britain, and will but make way for the ſettlement and proviſion of thoſe who ſtay behind, and occaſion them to marry and multiply the faſter. It is probable, that the people in Britain imagine that the new ſettlements in America, are wholly filled by thoſe who come from Europe—It is far otherwiſe. They do not make the fortieth part in any new ſettlement. Such tracts are peopled from the adjacent ſettlements at firſt, with a few ſtranger emigrants; but their chief increaſe is from natural generation. If a ſettlement is good, a few families will ſpeedily make a colony; but if otherwiſe, you may ſend in ſhips full of people every year, and yet it will come to nothing. If a few paſſengers coming out from Britain, threaten deſtruction to their populous country, what inſtant ruin muſt come upon the ſettled parts of New-England, New-York, New-Jerſey, and

Pennſylvania, from whence many times the number remove every year to the back countries, and yet it has not any ſenſible effect, either on the price of land, or the number of the people, which continue to increaſe notwithſtanding. America is certainly exhibiting at this time, a ſcene that is new in the hiſtory of mankind. It increaſes in a proportion that no political calculations have yet been able to underſtand or lay down rules for. The reaſon of this I take to be, that when colonies were ſent out in ancient times, the people and the ſoil were ſomewhat ſimilar, and improved by ſlow degrees; but in America we ſee a wild, but a noble ſoil, taken poſſeſſion of by all the power, wealth, and learning of Europe, which puſhes on its improvement, with a rapidity which is inconceivable.

Another thing ought not to be omitted; there are great numbers of people that go from America to Britain, ſo that the migration is not all one way. The people in New England (an old ſettlement) ſay that they have ſent twice as many people to England, as ever came out of it to them. But though upon the whole, while this country is but yet ſettling, the number coming out ſhould be greater; yet there is this difference, that they commonly come out poor, and return rich. This is very much to the advantage of Britain, if wealth and an increaſed value of land be an advantage. The truth is even as to numbers, though I do not think ſo many people go from America to Europe, as come from Europe to America; yet I am apt to think, that there is little difference in the number that goes to, or comes from the iſland of Great Britain.

2. But ſuppoſing, (what I do not believe) that inviting people over from Scotland to America, did tend in ſome degree to depopulate that part of the world, I cannot ſee why a man who does ſo ſhould for that reaſon, be called an enemy to his country. What is it for a man to be a friend to his country? Is it to wiſh well to the ſtones and the earth, or the people that inhabit it? Can he be an enemy to them, by pointing out to ſuch of them as are poor or oppreſſed, where they may have a happy and plentiful proviſion, and their poſterity be multiplied as the ſand of the ſea? If he is their enemy by deceiving them, the dif-

covery will ſoon be made, and the deſign will be deteſted; or rather indeed, the diſcovery would have been made long ago, as the intercourſe between Great Britain and America has been of ſo many years ſtanding. Is he then the enemy of thoſe who ſtay behind? Not ſurely of the multitude, or common people, for there will be but more room made for them, and the more eaſy acceſs to a comfortable ſubſiſtence. It remains then, that he muſt be the enemy of the landholders, who may run ſome riſk of being obliged to lower their rents. But is this a liberal way of thinking, to ſay a man is an enemy to his country, while he promotes the happineſs of the great body of the people, with a ſmall diminution of the intereſt of an handful? Allowing therefore this argument all the force that it can pretend to, the accuſation is baſe and ſcandalous, ariſing from a littleneſs of mind, incapable of cheriſhing a generous love of mankind. I cannot help thinking it is doing a real ſervice to my country, when I ſhew that thoſe of them who find it difficult to ſubſiſt on the ſoil in which they were born, may eaſily tranſport themſelves to a ſoil and climate vaſtly ſuperior to that. Sobriety and induſtry cannot fail to be attended by independence and abundance; neither is this a matter that can be doubted by thoſe who reflect a little on the nature of things. A country where land is cheap, proviſions in plenty, and as a natural conſequence, labor is dear, muſt be favourable to the induſtrious huſbandman. His chief concern ought to be, to guard againſt the temptations always attendant on ſuch a ſtate, viz. lazineſs and intemperance. I will take this opportunity alſo to obſerve, that ſuch as have a ſmall independent fortune in Britain, if they have a taſte for agriculture, might eaſily in America, live upon their eſtates as well as thoſe in Britain who have a yearly revenue equal to their whole ſtock. But this is only in caſe a man lives upon his land, and eats the fruit of it. If he expects that he may live idly and magnificently in a city, and rent out his land at a high price, he will find himſelf miſerably miſtaken. It would be a ſtrange country indeed, if land might be bought cheap, and rented dear. This is impoſſible; for by what arguments could you perſuade a man to

pay a high rent for land, when by going a little back, he may have the property to himſelf for a ſmall matter.

But after all, I can never admit that the happineſs of one claſs of men depends upon the miſery of another; or that it can be any way contrary to the intereſt of the landholders in Scotland, that a few who find themſelves pinched in their circumſtances, or who have an active and enterpriſing diſpoſition, ſhould remove to America. There are always ſtrong motives to hinder a man's removal from his own country, and it cannot be ſuppoſed that any conſiderable number will think of ſuch a meaſure, unleſs they are really in an oppreſſed ſtate. If this is the caſe, from the natural courſe of things, their removal will be no injury to any body; but like a ſwarm of bees coming off from a hive that is too full. If it is the caſe in particular places, from the iron hand of tyranny, I ſee no reaſon to offer any excuſe for the meritorious act of aſſiſting them to make their eſcape. Let not people confine themſelves to narrow, ſelfiſh views. No part of Europe has received, or does now receive a greater acceſſion of wealth, from the American ſettlements, than Great Britain; and perhaps there is no part of Great Britain where the rent of land has riſen higher by the ſame means, than Scotland. I ſuppoſe every gentleman in that part of the kingdom, is well pleaſed to hear that ſeveral thouſand Palatines, or people from the north of Ireland go to America every year—or that from time to time, ſome one or other, who went abroad with a launcet in his pocket, is coming back with an opulent eſtate, to ſettle in his neighbourhood—or that no wealthy American is ſatisfied, till he has ſent his ſon home, as they call it, to ſpend from two or three hundreds, to as many thouſands, in order to complete his education by ſtudy, or end his life by gambling. If ſo, why ſhould he grudge that ſome of his poorer countrymen ſhould acquire a comfortable ſettlement there, though with little proſpect of returning, eſpecially as it is impoſſible for them to do any thing for the improvement of America, that will not in the end redound to the advantage of Great Britain.

3. I have only further to ſay, that the outcry made upon this ſubject, is as impolitic, as it is unjuſt. If I wanted

to people America from Scotland, I would not think of employing a more effectual way, than exciting or hiring one or two authors, who have nothing elſe to do, to write againſt it. This would neceſſarily make people pay attention to the ſubject, and ſeek after the information which they would otherwiſe have neglected. At the ſame time, as human nature in general, is not very fond of reſtraint, they would perhaps be the more diſpoſed to remove, when they found their landlords anxious that they ſhould ſtay. I deſire it may be particularly obſerved, that I have not ſaid in any part of the above diſcourſe, nor do I believe that there is any hard-heartedneſs or diſpoſition to oppreſs in the landlords of Scotland, more than in any other country, nor more at this time than any former period. The riſe of lands has been the conſequence of an increaſe of trade and wealth, and the diſpoſition to go abroad in the common people, at preſent, is owing to the ſame cauſe that made clerks and ſupercargoes go out, for theſe fifty years paſt, viz. the hope of bettering their circumſtances. It is both unjuſt and impoſſible to hinder them, if they be ſo minded; and for the reaſons given above, I am perſuaded it will not be the leaſt injury to thoſe of any rank whom they leave behind. For my own part, my intereſt in the matter is not great; but ſince Providence has ſent me to this part of the world, and ſince ſo much honor has been done me, as to ſuppoſe that my character might be ſome ſecurity againſt fraud and impoſition, I ſhall certainly look upon it as my duty, to do every real ſervice in my power, to ſuch of my countrymen as ſhall fall in my way, and ſhall either deſire or ſeem to need my aſſiſtance.

J. W.

IGNORANCE OF THE BRITISH

WITH RESPECT TO

AMERICA.

To the Editor of the Scots Magazine.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1771.

SIR,

I SAW in your magazine (Appendix 1770) a letter, ſigned E. R. containing ſome remarks upon, and a ſevere condemnation of Dr. Lathrop's ſermon at Boſton, entitled, "Innocent Blood crying for Vengeance." Theſe remarks are introduced with obſerving, that the ſynod of New-York and Philadelphia had written a letter, and claimed relation to the church of Scotland; and then ſays the author, 'on reading of which, I could not help 'thinking, if we may judge of the American church from 'the ſample here given, that our church derives no great 'honor from her weſtern progeny; but I hope the ſtock 'is better than the ſample.'

Now, ſir, as to this author's obſervations on Dr. Lathrop's ſermon, I ſhall ſay little; becauſe perhaps it cannot be wholly juſtified—yet, if all circumſtances are duly attended to, there is as little reaſon to inſult or glory over the people of Boſton, as there was to excite the public reſentment againſt captain P——. But what I have only in view, is ſhortly to expoſe the exceſſive abſurdity

and ignorance of bringing in the ſynod of New-York and Philadelphia on this occaſion. Were the author of this ſermon even a member of the ſynod, or any way connected with it, the attempt would be impertinent; becauſe no church can be ſuppoſed anſwerable for the prudence of every particular perſon connected with her, eſpecially the wiſdom or propriety of their publications. Does the church of Scotland deſire to be judged by this rule? I ſuppoſe not. Nor will I be guilty of ſo much injuſtice, as to judge of her by this her friend and advocate. 'I hope (as he ſays) the ſtock is better than the 'ſample.' For,

How aſtoniſhing muſt be the ignorance of that gentleman concerning the Britiſh dominions in America, when he ſuppoſes the miniſters of Boſton to be a part of the ſynod of New-York and Philadelphia! Did the ſynod's letter ſay any ſuch thing? Did it not enumerate the provinces in which their members reſide? Did it not inform the public, that it is but ſeventy years ſince the firſt preſbytery met in this country? But give me leave to inform your correſpondent, that it is about one hundred and forty years ſince the people of New-England eſtabliſhed a college at Cambridge near Boſton; that their churches are upon the independent plan, and are in the four New-England provinces above five hundred in number; whereas the whole ſynod of New-York and Philadelphia contained, when their letter was written, but one hundred and twenty-ſeven members, and does not now amount to one hundred and fifty.

I do not mean by this to diſclaim connection with the churches of New-England. They are a moſt reſpectable part of the church of Chriſt. Nor do I think that any part of the Britiſh empire is at this day equal to them for real religion and ſound morals. My ſingle purpoſe is to teach your correſpondent, and your readers in general, not to write upon American affairs, unleſs they underſtand them. I tell you nothing but truth when I ſay, that being a Briton, I have often bluſhed in company, to hear ſtories narrated of the abſurd and ignorant manner in which perſons of no inconſiderable ſtations in Britain, have talk-

ed of things and places in America. We have heard of a gentleman in the houſe of commons, frequently making mention of the *island* of Pennſylvania; and of another who in the privy counſel inſiſted, after contradiction, on his being right in his deſcription of the *island* of New-Jerſey.

But what excels every thing is the following ſtory, which I have been aſſured by perſons well acquainted with it, was a fact. Some years ago, a frigate came from England with diſpatches for many or moſt of the governors of provinces in North-America. The captain had orders to go firſt to New-York, and from thence to proceed to Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennſylvania, and the Jerſeys. When he arrived at New-York, he delivered his diſpatches there, and mentioned his orders. The governor told him, if you will give me the letters for the governors of New-Jerſey and Pennſylvania, I will undertake to have them delivered in forty-eight hours; but if you take the route preſcribed to you, perhaps they will not receive them in three months. To which the captain replied, I do not care a farthing about the matter; I will ſtick to my inſtructions.

I am, ſir, your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
X. Y.

ON THE

C O N T E S T

BETWEEN

GREAT-BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

Philadelphia, September 3, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR very acceptable letter of the 21ſt of March, I received about the middle of June, and would have anſwered it long ago, if there had been any encouraging proſpect of conveying it ſafely. As to writing you a ſhort letter that muſt have gone open through the enemy's poſts, I did not think it worth while. I have however now come to a reſolution of writing you pretty fully, and trying to convey it by France or Holland; and if it ſhould fall into their hands, and never get to your's, there will be no other loſs than my time in writing; for as to any other conſequences, either to the public or to myſelf I have not the leaſt apprehenſion.

Your letter came to me ſealed, and apparently never opened, in a packet from the Britiſh commiſſioners, which arrived at York-town while the congreſs was ſitting; and conſequently it, as well as one from Mr. F——, was delivered to me in preſence of the whole members. As

the ſame packet, beſides the public meſſage, contained ſome private letters addreſſed to particular members, ſome of them from governor Johnſtone, one of the commiſſioners, a propoſal was made by a member, who read publicly one received by himſelf, that every gentleman who had received private letters from any perſon with the enemy, ſhould deliver them to cougreſs, that they might be read. This would have been attended with no difficulty as to me; except ſome family affairs in Mr. F——'s letter very improper to be publicly read, and ſome expreſſions in his letter a little offenſive ſpeaking of congreſs. However, it was not done at that time; and afterwards, in a diet at many days diſtance, every member who had received any ſuch letters, was called upon to read from them what related to public affairs, which was done.

I am and have been greatly concerned, as you ſeem to be, for the conteſt between Great-Britain and America; and certainly, from my own intereſt, have by far the greateſt reaſon of the two; and as I ſuppoſe it will be agreeable to you, ſhall make a few obſervations, 1. upon the public cauſe, and 2. on my own conduct, which I underſtand from many different quarters, to be highly blamed in my native country.

As to the public cauſe, I look upon the ſeparation of America from Britain to be the viſible intention of Providence; and believe that in the iſſue it will be to the benefit of this country, without any injury to the other—perhaps to the advantage of both. It ſeems to me the intention of Providence for many reaſons, which I cannot now enumerate, but in a particular manner for the following—that I cannot recollect any inſtance in hiſtory, in which a perſon or people have ſo totally and uniformly miſtaken the means for attaining their own ends, as the king and parliament of Britain have in this conteſt. I do ſeriouſly and poſitively affirm to you, my dear ſir, that it is my opinion, that congreſs itſelf, if they had been to direct the meaſures of the Britiſh miniſtry, could not or would not have directed them to meaſures ſo effectual to forward and eſtabliſh the independence of America, as thoſe which they choſe of their own accord. They have had a miſtaken opinion

of the ſtate of things in America, from the beginning to this hour, and have founded their whole conduct upon their miſtakes. They ſuppoſed ſometimes, that the people of America in general were ſeditious and factious—deſirous of a ſeparation from Great-Britain, and that their conduct on occaſion of the ſtamp-act was the effect of this diſpoſition. Nothing could be more untrue. I am a witneſs that the people of this country had an eſteem of, and attachment to the people of Great-Britain, exceedingly ſtrong. They were proud of them, and of their own deſcent from them. Britiſh faſhions, Britiſh goods, and even Britiſh perſons were in the higheſt eſteem. A perſon educated in the old countries had a degree of rank and credit from that circumſtance, independent of every other. I think they were even partial in this reſpect. I believe, had I myſelf been born and educated in America, I ſhould have met with a degree of acceptance and ſucceſs in my ſtation, far inferior to what actually happened. When an American ſpoke of going to England, he always called it going home; and wherever you are in this country, you meet with almoſt nothing but counties, townſhips and houſes called by Engliſh names. I live at Princeton in Middleſex county; and on the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet is Somerſet county, and indeed I believe all the counties in New-Jerſey, are called by Engliſh names.

From this I deſire that you may infer, that the oppoſition made to the claims of parliament, aroſe from a deep and univerſal conviction in the people, that they were inconſiſtent with their own ſecurity and peace. In this I am ſatisfied that they judged right; for had the claim ſet up been acquieſced in, the provincial aſſemblies would have become contemptible and uſeleſs, and the whole colonies no better than a parcel of tributary ſtates, which, placed at ſo great a diſtance, would have been, from error, ignorance and ſelf-intereſt, loaded in the moſt inſupportable manner.

Another miſtake, into which the miniſtry and parliament of England fell, was that this was a deep-laid ſcheme of a few artful and deſigning men, who ſtirred up the multitude for their own ends; that the ſentiments in fa-

vor of America, were by no means general; but that the artful leaders impoſed upon them. This I have ſeen aſſerted from the beginning to the end of the quarrel; and to complete the abſurdity, the very commiſſioners now here from Britain, continue to reaſon in the ſame manner—impeach the congreſs with ambitious and deſigning views, and ſeem diſpoſed to appeal to the people. Alas! they know nothing of the matter. The congreſs is a changeable body: members are going from it, and coming to it every month, nay every week. — —

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A

DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE

OF

NEW-JERSEY.

Answers in Part to Mr. Marbois's Questions respecting New-Jersey.

I. NEW-JERSEY is bounded on the north by a line drawn from the North or Hudſon's river to the boundary of Pennſylvania, fixed about ten years ago by commiſſioners appointed from New-York and New-Jerſey, and marked in all the late maps. This line runs nearly weſt, and paſſes about thirty miles north of Morris-town in New-Jerſey.

It is bounded on the eaſt by Hudſon's river, from the line juſt now mentioned to the ſea.

It is bounded on the ſouth by the Atlantic Ocean, from the mouth of Hudſon's river to Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay. And on the weſt by the Delaware, to the place where the firſt mentioned line ſtrikes it, between two and three hundred miles from the ſea.

II. Smith's Hiſtory of New-Jerſey is the only publication that can anſwer the deſign of this query.

III. New-Jerſey conſiſts of thirteen counties, which, beginning at Cape May on the Delaware Bay, lie in the following order: Cape-May, Salem, Cumberland, Glouceſter, Burlington, Hunterdon, Suſſex, Morris, Bergen, Eſſex, Somerſet, Middleſex, Monmouth. Theſe counties are ſub-divided into townſhips or precincts.

There are no cities in New-Jerſey, but Burlington and Perth-Amboy, which were ſeverally the capitals of Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, as will be ſeen by the patents and hiſtory of the ſettlement.

The chief villages, or conſiderable places in New-Jerſey, are Haddenfield, Mountholly, Bardentown, Trenton, Princeton, Brunſwick, Morriſtown, Springfield, Woodbridge, Elizabeth-town, Newark, Hackenſack, Pittſtown, Cranberry, Shrewſbury, Allentown, Pennington, and ſome others of leſs note.

The only river of conſiderable extent in New-Jerſey, is the Raritan; the two branches of which paſſing through the north-eaſtern parts of the ſtate, unite near twenty miles above Brunſwick, and receiving the Milſtone and ſome other ſmaller ſtreams, it becomes navigable about two miles above Brunſwick, and from thence to Amboy bay, about twenty miles by water, is navigated by ſhallops and ſmall veſſels of one hundred or one hundred and fifty tons.

South river paſſes through Cranberry, in Middleſex county, and empties itſelf into the Raritan before it reaches Amboy.

Black river is a conſiderable ſtream, paſſing through Morris county eaſtward, and empties itſelf into Hudſon's river.

Paſſaic river paſſes through Bergen county, and enters into the bay oppoſite to Newark. There are falls pretty remarkable on this river, at the head of the bay, which many people go to ſee as a curioſity.

There are many other ſmall rivulets, not conſiderable, and many creeks and inlets upon the ſea coaſt, and particularly in the bay and river of Delaware, none of them navigable far into the country.

As to mountains, there is a ridge not very high, but

commonly called Rocky Hill, which croſſes the great road from Philadelphia to New-York, about five miles eaſtward of Princeton, and runs from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, continuing about ten miles in length, paſſing about one mile and a half to the north of Princeton.—Though there are no hills properly ſpeaking, there is a continued and gradual aſcent from the Delaware to Princeton, and a gradual deſcent from thence to the eaſtward. There is a great ridge of mountains near and on the boundary between New-Jerſey and New-York, running chiefly from eaſt to weſt.

The trees are very various. As to foreſt trees, there are oaks of various kinds, aſh, maple, birch, cheſnut, walnut, pine, locuſt. The middle and upper parts of the country run much into the ſeveral kinds of oak, and in the lower parts are to be found great quantities of pine and cedar. The mulberry tree thrives in moſt parts of the ſtate; and it ſeems remarkably favorable to fruit trees, particularly apples, pears, cherries and peaches, of all which there is great abundance. The vine grows ſpontaneouſly in many parts, and bears a large blue grape, not unpleaſant to eat.

The produce of the improved farms, is wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, buckwheat, flax, and hemp. It is uſual for farmers to have a ſmall piece of land in tobacco; but it is only for their own uſe, or that of their ſervants; it is not raiſed in New-Jerſey for ſale. All the garden herbs raiſed in France and England, thrive well in New-Jerſey; ſo probably would vines, if cultivated by perſons who underſtood the buſineſs.

Black cattle are raiſed in New-Jerſey to great advantage—alſo horſes. There is a particular turn in the inhabitants for raiſing fine horſes from the breed imported from England. There is alſo a large breed of heavy draught horſes in thoſe parts of the ſtate chiefly inhabited by the low Dutch.

IV. The number of inhabitants in New-Jerſey at preſent, is certainly not leſs than two hundred thouſand. There was an exact liſt of them taken about ten years

ago, which will be procured in a ſhort time, There are negroes, but they are certainly not above one ſeventh or one tenth part of the whole. The negroes are exceedingly well uſed, being fed and clothed as well as any free perſons who live by daily labor.

V. There is no profeſſion of religion which has an excluſive legal eſtabliſhment. Some particular churches have charters of incorporation; and probably they would not be refuſed to a body of any denomination. All profeſſions are tolerated, and all proteſtants are capable of electing and being elected, and indeed have every privilege belonging to citizens.—There are in New-Jerſey, Engliſh preſbyterians, Low Dutch preſbyterians, epiſcopalians, baptiſts, quakers. The two firſt, except the difference of the national connection of the one with the church of Scotland, and the other with the church of Holland, and the language, are of the ſame principles as to doctrine. They have the ſame worſhip and government, and they are by far the moſt numerous. There is a great majority of the preſent legiſlature of theſe two denominations. Formerly the quakers, though not the majority, had conſiderable influence; but ſince the late conteſt with Great-Britain, they are fewer in number, and altogether without power. The epiſcopalians are few. The baptiſts are preſbyterians in all other reſpects, only differing in the point of infant baptiſm; their political weight goes the ſame way as the preſbyterians; their number is ſmall.

VI. There is at Princeton a college, which had originally a royal charter, begun in 1748. It is now confirmed in its privileges, with ſome alterations and improvements, by act of aſſembly. The charter name of it is, the College of New-Jerſey; the name of the building, Naſſau-Hall. It was in a flouriſhing ſtate before the war, having about one hundred and fifty under graduates and other ſcholars; but was entirely deſolated, and the houſe made a wreck, by the confuſion of the times—firſt by the Engliſh army, which entirely ſcattered the ſcholars, and took poſſeſſion of the houſe; and afterwards, by the Ame-

rican army making it a barrack and hoſpital. It now begins to recover, having of under graduates and ſcholars about ſixty.—A printed account of the college has been given to Mr. Marbois before.

There is alſo in New-Jerſey a college, whoſe charter name is Queen's College, ſet up by the Low Dutch, with a particular view to preſerve their language, and all the peculiar cuſtoms of the church of Holland. They have no building as yet, but have carried on their inſtruction ſometimes at Brunſwick, ſometimes elſewhere.

The College of New-Jerſey is the beſt building in the ſtate. Neither churches nor court-houſes are any where ſumptuous. There is no public hoſpital in the ſtate.

There are few men of letters in the ſtate of New-Jerſey, except thoſe who belong to law, phyſic, or theology; and many of theſe profeſſions are often taken up without a liberal education. The ſtate conſiſts almoſt wholly of ſubſtantial farmers. There has been formerly known, eſpecially when the quakers had ſome power, a prejudice againſt learning—That prejudice begins to wear off.

There are no turnpike roads. There are ſtatutes for the wideneſs of the public roads; alſo for repairing, though it is generally poorly done—yet from the climate and the level poſition of the country, the roads are excellent in ſummer. The accommodations in taverns are in general as good as in any ſtate in America. The great road from Philadelphia to New-York, lies through the middle of New-Jerſey, by Trenton, Princeton, Brunſwick, Woodbridge, Elizabeth-town, and Newark.

VII. I cannot at preſent recollect any cuſtoms peculiar to the ſtate, or that from their ſingularity deſerve notice. New-Jerſey was firſt peopled by the Low Dutch, at leaſt the eaſtern part of it. Their language is continued there as yet, though wearing out. They are a remarkably cleanly people, and frugal. They uſe their ſlaves and other ſervants with great humanity, often not ſcrupling white and black to eat together. People from all the other ſtates are continually moving into and out of this ſtate, ſo that there is little peculiarity of manners.

VIII. *The present state of manufactures, commerce, and exterior trade.*

New-Jerſey being in general ſettled by farmers, with a great equality of rank and even poſſeſſions, no conſiderable manufactures are eſtabliſhed in it. There are, however, tradeſmen diſperſed through it, of almoſt every kind. The farmers being frugal and plain in their manners, always made both linen and woolen cloth for their own families and their ſervants. They have given greater attention to this matter within theſe five or ſix years that the differences with Great-Britain have ſubſiſted. I believe it may be depended upon, that there is not one in ten of the members of the legiſlature of New-Jerſey, who is not clothed in the manufacture of his own family for the greateſt part, and many of them have no other clothing of any kind. At this time a great quantity of very good cloth is made in the families. Some tradeſmen in different places make for ſale, but not much. There are ſome very conſiderable dealers in leather, and ſtill a greater number in hats. All iron tools are well made here, but not for exportation out of the ſtate.

From the ſituation of New-Jerſey, there is hardly any foreign trade carried on directly from it. The merchants in Trenton, Brunſwick, Burdentown, and ſeveral other places, have boats, ſhallops, and other ſmall veſſels, with which they trade to Philadelphia or New-York. In former times ſhips might be entered both at Burlington and Amboy, for any part of the world: but few are ſent abroad—ſuch of our merchants as are concerned in foreign trade, being almoſt always joined in company with ſome of the large cities above mentioned.

IX. *A notice of the beſt ſea-ports in the ſtate, and how big are the veſſels they can receive.*

The beſt ſea-port in the ſtate of New-Jerſey is Amboy, which can receive veſſels of as great burden as New-York. There has never been as yet any great foreign trade at Amboy. The vicinity of New-York has probably been a hindrance to it. There are harbors at little Egg-harbor and great Egg-harbor, on the coaſt of the Atlantic, which

privateers and traders have made a conſiderable uſe of ſince the war. They cannot receive veſſels of great burden; but the greateſt part of the trading veſſels can go in there. The ſame is the caſe with the creeks on the Jerſey ſhore, in the river Delaware.

X. *A notice of the commercial productions peculiar to that state, and of those objects which the inhabitants are obliged to draw from Europe and from other parts of the world.*

The productions of New-Jerſey, and the ſources of its wealth, are grain of every kind as mentioned under queſtion third—horſes, cattle, ſalted beef and pork, and poultry. In times of peace, great quantities of all theſe are ſent to the Weſt-Indies, and flax-ſeed to Europe, ſhipped however more commonly in Philadelphia or New-York than any port in New-Jerſey. The city of Philadelphia receives a great proportion of its proviſions, including vegetables of every kind, from New-Jerſey. The ſoil of that part of New-Jerſey which is oppoſite to Philadelphia, is exceedingly proper for gardening, and derives much of its value from its proximity to that city.

The ſtate of New-Jerſey is obliged to draw from Europe and otherparts, tea, ſugar, wine, ſpirits. Before the war they purchaſed conſiderable quantities of Engliſh cloth, both linen and woolen, becauſe cheaper than they could manufacture it in many inſtances, and becauſe many tradeſmen and others had not the materials of manufacture. All articles of finery they muſt purchaſe if they uſe them—lawns, gauzes, ſilks and velvet.

XI. *The weights, measures, and the currency of hard money — Some details relating to the exchange with Europe.*

The weights and meaſures now uſed in New-Jerſey, are the ſame as in England, of every kind—meaſures of length, ſolidity, ſuperficies, dry and liquid. The moſt common for grain is the buſhel, which contains eight Wincheſter gallons, and each gallon two hundred and ſeventy-two and a quarter ſolid inches.

The exchange between New-Jerſey and Europe, is carried on almoſt wholly through Philadelphia and New-York.

The ſtatute currency of money in New-Jerſey is in the ſame proportion to ſterling as that of Pennſylvania, that is, as five to three. A Spaniſh milled dollar is, of New-Jerſey proclamation money, ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence. There was twenty years ago, a currency or way of reckoning in New-Jerſey, commonly called light money, according to which a dollar was eight ſhillings and eight pence, but this ſeems now to be wholly diſuſed, or confined only to the north-eaſtern part of the ſtate. The other way of reckoning is called *proclamation money*, which prevails.

XII. *The public income and expences.*

The public income of New-Jerſey conſiſts, ſo far as is known to me, of taxes annually laid by the aſſemblies; and is great or ſmall, as they ſhall think the exigencies of the ſtate require. There is in general a great diſpoſition to ſave the public money; indeed ſuch as in many inſtances to make inadequate proviſion. The ſalary of the governor was by the act of ſupply, October 1775, before the change from a colony to a free ſtate, twelve hundred pounds, proclamation money; the judges of the ſupreme court, three in number, had each of them one hundred and fifty the ſame year; all other expences for clerks, &c. were ſmall; and the members of council and aſſembly had each eight ſhillings for every day's attendance. The delegates in congreſs had at firſt twenty ſhillings per day; and during the depreciation of the money, if they made any allowance at the beginning of the year becauſe of its bad ſtate then, they never made any amends for the increaſed depreciation before the year expired.—As to this and all ſuch matters, they may be ſeen more fully from the printed laws, which I believe may be purchaſed of Iſaac Collins, printer to the ſtate, in Trenton.

XIII. *The measures taken with regard to the estates and possessions of the rebels commonly called tories.*

They have been all sold off *in perpetuum*, and are now in possession of the new proprietors; the debts upon them to faithful subjects, having been first discharged.

XIV. *The marine and navigation.*

There are no vessels whatever belonging to the state of New-Jersey. There are privateers who have commissions, which sail from the ports on the coast, or on the enemy's lines. There is an admiralty court established for the condemnation of prizes.—As to merchant ships, see the answer to question eighth.

XV. *A notice of the mines, and other subterranean riches.*

There are some very valuable iron mines in New-Jersey, in Morris and Suffex counties. Some companies in England were concerned in working some of these mines before the war. It was suspected some years ago, that there were copper mines in New-Jersey; but no trial hitherto made has fully succeeded—some gentlemen lost their fortunes in the attempt.

It is not known whether there are any coal mines or not, as people every where burn wood.

XVI. *Some samples of the mines, and of the extraordinary stones; in short, a notice of all that can increase the progress of human knowledge.*

Iron ore is so very common, that it cannot be supposed to be an object of curiosity. I have heard of and seen some pieces of black matter, that was said, when dissolved in water, to be exceedingly good ink. If this or any other curiosity can be obtained by enquiry, they shall be forwarded.—There is very good marl in some parts of New-Jersey, to the eastward.—There is no limestone in the parts of New-Jersey where I have been, but probably there is some in Suffex.—There are in several places of New-Jersey, sugar-maple trees, whence the country people draw sugar for their own use, as in the back parts of New-Hampshire and Vermont.

XVII. *A description of the Indians established in the states, before the European settlements, and of those who are still remaining. An indication of the Indian monuments discovered in that state.*

The Indians, and their manner of life, are described in several books, much better than I can do it, who was never among them. And indeed by comparing together all that I have ever heard or read, it appears that the characteristic features of the Indians of North-America, are the same which have distinguished savages in all parts of the world, and wherever discovered—gravity and sullenness of deportment, love of hunting and war—that is to say, depredation; ferocity to their captives, laziness and aversion to habitual labor, tyranny over the female sex, passive courage, and, if it may called so, active cowardice, and strong passions both of lasting gratitude and unextinguishable resentment.

The chief thing that a philosopher can learn from the Indians in New-Jersey is, that perhaps the most complete experiment has been made here how they would agree with cultivated life. At the time when the Indians sold and confirmed the lands to the settlers, at their own request, a tract of land was purchased for them to live in the heart of the colony, in Burlington county, of three thousand acres and more, which was secured to them by law. They had a village built, and a house of worship and a minister, and every possible encouragement given them to cultivate the land, and carry on trades; yet, after all, they were so far from increasing in numbers or improving in industry, that at different times several of them went back into the woods, and the remainder dwindled away, so that there are few of them now left. On the whole it does not appear, that either by our people going among them, or by their being brought among us, that it is possible to give them a relish of civilized life. There have been some of them educated at this college, as well as in New-England; but seldom or never did they prove either good or useful. —

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ARISTIDES.

SIR,

I HAVE a few thoughts to communicate, firſt to yourſelf and after that, if you pleaſe to the public, upon the manner of conducting what is now called the independent controverſy, in the newſpapers. There are to be found in the tracts upon one ſide of this queſtion, almoſt without exception, complaints of ſome reſtraints, felt or feared, upon the freedom of the preſs. I ſhall be glad to be informed, becauſe I am yet ignorant, what foundation there is for theſe complaints. A pamphlet was publiſhed ſometime ago, calling itſelf Common Senſe, which nobody was obliged to read, but thoſe who were willing to pay for it, and that pretty dearly too. It was however read very generally, which I ſuppoſe muſt have ariſen either from the beauty and elegance of the compoſition, or from the truth and importance of the matter contained in it. That it did not ariſe from the firſt of theſe cauſes, I ſhall take for granted, until I meet with ſomebody who is of a different opinion; and when this is added to the circumſtance of its being ſold in the manner above mentioned, it is plain that the ſubject matter of Common Senſe was propoſed to the world under every diſadvantage, but that of its own manifeſt importance and apparent truth or probability.

Things being in this ſituation, after time ſufficient to have matured any pamphlet of an ordinary ſize, out comes an anſwer to *Common Senſe*, under the title of

Plain Truth. This in one reſpect, was perfectly fair, for it was pamphlet againſt pamphlet; and the ſaid Plain Truth alſo was ſold, as well as Common Senſe, at a very high price. For this laſt circumſtance, there was no need of aſſigning a reaſon, becauſe I apprehend it is the undoubted right of every author, to ſet what price he pleaſes upon the productions of his genius; and of every printer upon the productions of his preſs, leaving it always to the public to determine whether they will purchaſe theſe productions at that price, or any other. A reaſon however was aſſigned, which was as ſingular as it was unneceſſary. We were told that only a ſmall number of copies was printed of the *first* edition, I believe this is the only inſtance that can be produced, of calling a book in its publication, the firſt edition. The only reaſon of making more editions than one of any book, is the ſpeedy ſale of that number of copies, which the modeſty of the author, or the prudence of the bookſeller thought might be ſufficient for the public demand. In this caſe, there is what is ſtated by the printers a *call* for another edition. But there are multitudes of publications, as to which, this call is never heard, and therefore none of them can with propriety of ſpeech, be ſtiled the firſt edition. How would it ſound if I ſhould ſay, that a man who came alone into my houſe, was the firſt of the company that entered; or that my wife, who is ſtill alive and well, is my firſt wife, when it is very poſſible that ſhe may live till I am unfit for any other wife, or till ſhe is at liberty to take a ſecond huſband?

But further, ſuppoſing that the author and bookſeller had been right in that expectation which the uſe of the phraſe plainly ſhews, the vanity of the one and the miſtake of the other had raiſed in them, I deſire to know how that was a reaſon for printing few copies, and thus rendering them unconſcionably dear. You printers know beſt, but I take it for granted from the nature of the thing, that you print feweſt copies of a book, when you do not expect a general ſale. If I were certain that this diſſertation of mine would cauſe an unuſual demand for the paper that contains it, I would modeſtly ſuggeſt to you, to print three

or four hundred of that number more than common. In like manner, if it was certain at the appearance of this pamphlet, that it would be the firſt of many editions, following one another in rapid ſucceſſion, it ſeems the moſt obvious thing in the world that the edition ſhould have been as large as poſſible. Upon the whole, this was an unlucky ſtumble at the threſhold in the author of Plain Truth, as well as an unexpected *lapsus* of the great, illuſtrious, and exalted R. B. providore, as he calls himſelf, to the ſentimentaliſts, for which I find no way of accounting, but that they were inadvertently led by the ſubject they had in hand to act, as well as write, in direct oppoſition to Common Senſe.

Well, the book comes out, of which I had a preſent of two copies, from different perſons, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the number printed. But what ſhall I ſay, either of the ſtyle or reaſoning of the performance. The reading of three pages gave me the opinion of it, which all who read it afterwards concurred in, and which all who have not read it, eaſily acquieſced in. In execution it was ſo contemptible, that it could not procure a reading on a ſubject, as to which, the curioſity of the public was raiſed to the greateſt height; it not only wanted good qualities in point of taſte and propriety, but was eminently poſſeſſed of every bad one. Common Senſe ſometimes failed in grammar, but never in perſpicuity. Plain Truth was ſo ridiculouſly ornamented with rapid, ſenſeleſs phraſes and feeble epithets, that his meaning could hardly be comprehended. He often put me in mind of the painted windows of ſome old gothic buildings, which keep out the light. If Common Senſe in ſome places wanted poliſh, Plain Truth was covered over, from head to foot, with a deteſtable and ſtinking varniſh.

As to the argument itſelf, although nothing could be more clearly ſtated than it was in Common Senſe, yet in Plain Truth it was never touched upon in the leaſt degree. The author of Common Senſe did not write his book to ſhew that we ought to reſiſt the unconſtitutional claims of Great Britain, which we had all determined to do long before; he wrote it to ſhew that we ought not to ſeek or

wait for a reconciliation, which in his opinion, is now become both impracticable and unprofitable, but to eſtabliſh a fixed regular government, and provide for ourſelves—Plain Truth on the contrary, never attempts to ſhew that there is the leaſt probability of obtaining reconciliation on ſuch terms as will preſerve and ſecure our liberties, but has exerted all his little force, to prove, that ſuch is the ſtrength of Great Britain, that it will be in vain for us to reſiſt at all. I will refer it to the impartial judgment of all who have read this treatiſe, whether the juſt and proper inference from his reaſoning is not, that we ought immediately to ſend an embaſſy with ropes about their necks, to make a full and humble ſurrender of ourſelves and all our property to the diſpoſal of the parent ſtate. This they have formally and explicitly demanded of us, and this we have with equal clearneſs determined we will never do. The queſtion then is this; Shall we make reſiſtance with the greateſt force, as rebel ſubjects of a government which we acknowledge, or as independent ſtates againſt an uſurped power which we deteſt and abhor?

After this reprobated author was off the ſtage, a new ſet of antagoniſts appeared againſt Common Senſe? but inſtead of publiſhing the firſt edition of pamphlets, they choſe to appear in the newſpapers. The propriety of this I beg leave to examine. Much has been ſaid about the liberty of the preſs; ſuffer me to ſay a few words for the liberty of readers. When a pamphlet is publiſhed and ſold, nobody is wronged. When the anſwer to it is publiſhed and ſold, the thing is quite fair. The writers and their cauſe will undergo an impartial trial; but when the anſwering one pamphlet by another, has ſo ſhamefully failed, to undertake the ſame thing by various detached pieces in the newſpapers, is cramming the ſenſe or nonſenſe of theſe authors down our throats, whether we will or not. I pay for your newſpaper, and for two more, and frequently read others beſides. Now, if I pay for news, muſt my paper be ſtuffed with diſſertations, and muſt I read them four or five times over? I do declare, that I have paid, and am to pay, three times for the moſt part of Cato's letters, and if they were to be publiſhed in

a pamphlet, I would not give a ruſh for them all together. But it will be ſaid, the cuſtom is old and univerſal, to write diſſertations in newſpapers. I anſwer, it is both old, univerſal and uſeful, when under proper direction; but it may be abuſed. It is the right of every publiſher of a newſpaper, to inſert in it upon his own judgment and choice, when news are ſcarce, whatever he thinks will recommend his paper to his readers. In this view, an able writer is a treaſure to a publiſher of any periodical paper, and ought certainly to be paid liberally, either in money or thanks, or both; and therefore, Sir, if you have paid for, or even ſolicited from the author, the papers you have publiſhed, you are wholly acquitted of blame, further than ſometimes a miſtaken choice; but if on the contrary, which I ſtrongly ſuſpect, you and others are paid for inſerting political pieces, I affirm, you take money to deceive your readers.

As the ſubject is of ſome importance, eſpecially at this time, I ſhall take the liberty of ſtating the objections I have againſt the practice, as above deſcribed, leaving you to ſhape your future courſe as you think proper, and determining to uſe my prerogative of taking or giving up your paper as it ſeems to deſerve. In the firſt place, if you admit pieces into your paper for pay, I preſume from the nature of all mankind, that thoſe who pay beſt, will have the preference. Then ſhall we have a new ſtandard of literary merit; and a man who is able and willing to refute pernicious principles, or to detect the falſehood of impudent aſſertions, may yet be too poor to obtain a place where only it can be done to any good purpoſes. The moment it is in the power of perſons unknown, to conduct or bias the public channels of intelligence, both the people in general, and particular perſons, may be deceived and abuſed in the groſſeſt manner. It is ſcarce worth while when things of ſo much greater moment are to be added, yet I will juſt mention, that you force nonſenſe upon us which could not make its appearance in any other mode of publication. Pray Sir, how much copy money would you have given for a pamphlet in which you had found that ridiculous pun upon Mount Seir, which is to be ſeen

in one of Cato's letters, and the wretched parody upon Hamlet's ſoliloquy ? Parody in general, is one of the loweſt kind of writing that has yet found a name ; and that poor ſpeech has been repeated, imitated and mangled ſo often, that it muſt excite diſguſt in every perſon who has any acquaintance with newſpapers and pamphlets to ſee it again. I could eaſily mention twenty different ways, in which I have ſeen that ſpeech parodied. To ſpeak, or not to ſpeak, that is the queſtion—To fight, or not to fight, that is the queſtion—To wed, or not to wed, that is the queſtion—To drink, or not to drink, that is the queſtion, &c. &c. &c. Is this then a time for filling the newſpapers with ſuch egregious trifling ?

But this is not all ; I could mention a caſe that happened a few years ago in New York. A gentleman had publiſhed a ſmall piece by itſelf, and put his own name and deſcription on the title page ; he was immediately attacked in the moſt virulent and unmannerly ſtile, by anonomous writers in the newſpapers, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that even for pay itſelf, his friends could get a few words inſerted by way of reply. This practice indeed, is liable to the higheſt degree of corruption. Whether are we to ſuppoſe it was pay or profaneneſs, that introduced into the paper printed by the infamous R———, pieces containing the groſſed obſcenity, and which ought to have been puniſhed by the magiſtrates of the place, as a public nuiſance ? It is alſo generally believed of that printer, that he encouraged or hired worthleſs perſons to publiſh aſperſions againſt a gentleman in the neighbourhood, of good eſtate, but of no great judgment, that he might ſqueeze money out of him for the liberty of contradicting them. I do not ſay that things are come this length with you ; but the practice leads to it, and therefore ſhould be early and vigorouſly oppoſed.

For the above reaſons, caution is to be uſed in admitting eſſays into the newſpapers at any rate, or ſuffering a controverſy in which people are greatly intereſted, to be agitated there at all. The writers are very apt to become perſonal and abuſive, and to forget the ſubject by refuting or expoſing every thing that has been thrown out by their

antagoniſts. Certainly however, they ought to confine themſelves to the pieces that have been originally publiſhed in the newſpapers, and are ſuppoſed to have been read by the ſame perſons who read the anſwers. To anſwer a whole book by a ſeries of letters in the newſpapers, is like attacking a man behind his back, and ſpeaking to his prejudice before perſons who never ſaw nor heard him, nor are ever likely ſo to do. Common Senſe has been read by many, yet the newſpapers are read by many more; and therefore I affirm, that permitting his adverſaries to attack him there, is giving them an undue advantage over him, and laying the public at the mercy of thoſe who will not ſtick to aſſert any thing whatever, in ſupport of a bad cauſe.

Let no body ſay I am writing againſt the freedom of the preſs. I deſire that it ſhould be perfectly free from every bias; but I would have all writings of conſequence upon ſuch a cauſe as this, publiſhed by themſelves, that they may ſtand or fall by their own merit, and the judgment of the public. How do you think Sir, the letter of the *common man* publiſhed in your paper, ſometime ago, would do if lengthened out a little, and printed in a pamphlet? Under a thin and ſilly pretence of impartiality, he takes upon him to tell us what a number of things muſt be all previouſly ſettled, before we proceed to fix upon a regular plan of government; ſuch as what price we muſt expect for our produce at this and the other nation and port. Shall we call this reaſoning? Are our underſtandings to be inſulted? If all or any ſuch things muſt be previouſly ſettled, any man of common invention may enumerate fifty thouſand perfectly ſimilar, which will never be ſettled by previous computation to the end of the world, but will ſpeedily ſettle themſelves by common intereſt, when a trade is open, and the common man ſhall never know any thing of the matter.

But what I chiefly complain of, is the tedious, trifling, indecent altercation, occaſioned by handling this ſubject in the newſpapers. It certainly requires a ſpeedy deciſion, as well as mature deliberation; yet muſt we wait till Cato and other writers have exhauſted their invention in the

newſpapers, from week to week, gueſſed at one another's perſons, and triumphantly expreſſed their diſdain at each others ſentiments or ſtile. If Cato's letters had been a pamphlet, I could have read all that he has ſaid in an hour, and all the reaſoning part by itſelf, in the fourth part of the time; yet after eight letters, muſt we wait ſome weeks more, for it would be indecent to proceed to action before he has done ſpeaking. But after all, the worſt of it is, that in this way of letter and anſwer, we never come to the argument at all. If I miſtake not, the points to be diſcuſſed are very plain and not numerous, and yet wholly untouched, at leaſt by Cato, though he has been repeatedly called upon by his adverſaries. For example—Is there a probable proſpect of reconciliation on conſtitutional principles? What are theſe conſtitutional principles? Will any body ſhew that Great Britain can be ſufficiently ſure of our dependance, and yet we ſure of our liberties? A treatiſe upon this laſt ſubject would be highly acceptable to me, and if well executed, uſeful to all. I ſhall add but one queſtion more. Will the country be as orderly and happy, and our efforts for reſiſtance as effectual, by the preſen looſe and temporary proceedings, as when the whole are united by a firm confederacy, and their exertions concentrated like the ſtrength of a ſingle ſtate? I am greatly miſtaken if theſe points ought not to be the hinge of the controverſy, and yet if they have been examined fully, or the greateſt part of them even touched upon by Cato or his coadjutors, I have read their works with very little attention.

Now, Sir, this paper goes to you, that if you pleaſe you may inſert it, but neither money nor promiſe of good deed to make way for it, ſo that its fate is wholly uncertain.

I remain Sir,

Your's, &c.

ARISTIDES.

AN

HUMBLE SUPPLICATION

To such of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland as are Elders of the Church, and Members of the General Assembly.

MUCH HONORED,

YOU will surely be ſenſible that it muſt have been a very urgent neceſſity that has compelled a man of my ſtation and profeſſion to become an author; eſpecially when I addreſs myſelf to you, whoſe circumſtances ſet you at ſo great a diſtance from me, and may, without that candor and condeſcenſion on your part, provoke you to contemn that advice which is offered voluntarily, and from ſuch a hand. And indeed there is nothing of which I am more firmly perſuaded, than that the affairs of the church of Scotland are drawing faſt towards a criſis, and that a little time will determine whether ſhe will ſink or ſwim. This view of things cannot fail to conſtrain every one who hath any regard to her proſperity and welfare, of which number I hope I ſhall always be, ſo long as I draw breath, to exert himſelf to the utmoſt for her ſupport; and alſo to ſpread the alarm, and call on others to aſſiſt, who have more ability and opportunity to be uſeful.

On this occaſion, I am emboldened to addreſs myſelf to you, not only as by your quality and ſtation, you are able to

contribute much to a change of the meaſures that have lately prevailed, but as your office of elders in the church, may be preſumed to incline you to be ready and active for her proſperity and ſupport. I intended once to have ſtyled you brethren, becauſe I alſo was an elder, but was afraid of giving offence by too forward and aſſuming an introduction; however, I ſtill hope for ſome regard in conſequence of this relation, becauſe I have ever obſerved that a likeneſs of character, a participation of the ſame office, or indeed a likeneſs in almoſt any conſiderable circumſtance, creates a kind of connection, and produces a ſympathy or fellow-feeling between the very higheſt and loweſt that fall under the ſame denomination. The inhabitants of the ſame city, though very different in their ſtations, reckon themſelves intereſted in one another. Thoſe of the ſame corporation are ſtill more cloſely connected. And there is a certain ſociety comprehending perſons of very diſtant characters in other reſpects, who are ſaid to have an extraordinary tenderneſs for each others concerns. The ſociety I mean is that of free-maſons; for I am told a free-maſon, though a king, will ſhow a very great affection for a brother, although a beggar, or at leaſt the next thing to it, if there be no real beggars in that community.

It is not without a very important deſign that I have mentioned this; for I have obſerved ſome of late have endeavored to ſtate a diſtinction, or perhaps I may call it to ſow ſedition, between the great elders of our church and the ſmaller. Many who are not wanting in an humble, if not ſervile reſpect to the elders that ſurround the commiſſioners throne in the aſſembly-houſe, make it their buſineſs to throw all the blame of the confuſion that attends the ſettlement of any pariſh, upon the elders of lower rank, whom I may call (in alluſion to the ſimilitude of free maſons) the operative members of the ſame ſociety. It is time, therefore, for us to ſpeak for ourſelves, and particularly to thoſe from whom becauſe of our relation to them, of which I again boaſt, we may confidently expect a fair and impartial hearing.

One other ground of encouragement I have in my preſent repreſentation, viz. that many or moſt of our honorable

elders are bred to the law. Now, I find in the hiſtory of the goſpel, that it was a lawyer that took care of the body of our bleſſed Saviour, after it was crucified at the inſtigation of the prieſts. This is a paſſage recorded by all the four evangeliſts; and I hope one effect of its having a place in the bible, will be the ſtirring up ſuch of our lawyers as have a ſhare in the management of public affairs, to reſcue the church, which is Chriſt's myſtical body, from the tyrannical impoſitions of churchmen in power.

I have been conſidering with myſelf, whether I ought not to endeavor to raiſe my ſtyle a little, when ſpeaking to your honors, above what was either neceſſary or proper when ſpeaking to thoſe of a lower rank and weaker capacity. But upon mature deliberation, I am reſolved to continue in my old plain way, becauſe it is probable I ſhall acquit myſelf better in that than in any other. I have often obſerved, that when a countryman is called, upon buſineſs, to ſpeak to thoſe of high rank, if he behaves in a quiet way, makes as few motions as poſſible, and ſpeaks with ſimplicity, he paſſes very well; but if he begins to ſcrape with his right foot, and to imitate the manners of his betters, he expoſes himſelf to their deriſion. Should it happen that ſuch a man, upon his going out, hears a great loud laugh in the company he hath left, it is my opinion he ought to conclude they are making a jeſt of his ridiculous behavior; and if he were permitted to return back, it is probable he would find one or two in the middle of the room mimicking his geſtures for the entertainment of the reſt: for there is not a more refined pleaſure to thoſe in high life (eſpecially the ladies) than aping and deriding the manners of their inferiors. Nay, the ſame diſpoſition is to be found in all ranks towards ſuch as are below them. Even we tradeſmen, and merchants have learned to ſpeak with contempt of a low-lived fellow, by which we mean one in lower life than our own. This hath determined me (as I ſaid) to aim at nothing but plainneſs of ſpeaking. And it is very poſſible it may happen in this, as in my former treatiſe, that to ſome I ſhall be found more plain than pleaſant.

The firſt point I am to apply to you upon, to which I humbly intreat your ſerious attention, is the manner of

making ſettlements of miniſters in the ſeveral pariſhes throughout this church. It is not unknown to you, that this truth cauſed a great deal of confuſion in ſeveral corners of the country; that a great part of the people have, on that very account, ſeparated from the eſtabliſhed church; and many more have fallen into an indifference about religion, and given over attendance upon public inſtruction altogether. Now there are ſome things upon this ſubject that I muſt needs take for granted; becauſe I cannot find any thing more evidently true than they are in themſelves by which I might prove them; ſuch as that the inſtruction of a nation in religion, is a matter of very great importance, and that you all believe it to be ſo; that there is no ground to hope that people will receive benefit by the inſtructions of thoſe whom they hate and abhor, and that it is impoſſible they can receive benefit from thoſe inſtructions which they will not hear. There is one thing more, which to me appears as evident as any of them, that no compulſion ought to be uſed to conſtrain men's choice in matters of religion. From theſe I think it plainly follows, that violent ſettlements, that is to ſay, giving a man a ſtipend, with a charge to inſtruct and govern the people within a certain diſtrict, the whole of which people do abſolutely refuſe to ſubject themſelves to his miniſtry, are, to ſay the leaſt, abſolutely unprofitable, and the money that is beſtowed upon the perſon ſo ſettled, is wholly thrown away.

There are not a few in whoſe hearing if I ſhould expreſs myſelf as above, they would immediately reply, All this is very true, and we are ſorry for it; but as the law now ſtands with regard to patronages, how can it he helped? Now, though I am far from being of theſe gentlemen's opinions, that this matter might not be made much better even as the law now ſtands, if the church were ſo diſpoſed as I hope ſhortly to ſhow, yet I will ſuppoſe it for a little, and make a few reflections upon the conduct of many in that ſuppoſed ſituation.

And firſt, they muſt forgive me if I ſay that I can by no means believe the hardſhip of the law of patronage lies very heavy upon their ſpirits, or at leaſt if it does they ſupport themſelves under it with ſurpriſing firmneſs, and diſcover

not the leaſt outward ſign of uneaſineſs. Are they ever heard to complain of it, unleſs in a conſtrained manner, when others mention it before them? Do they not ſhew all willingneſs to appoint ſuch ſettlements—to enforce them, to defend them? Do they in the leaſt diſcountenance ſuch probationers as accept of preſentures unconditionally, although it cannot be pretended that the law obliges any man to this? On the contrary, are not theſe the men whom they love and delight in, whoſe characters they celebrate for knowledge and underſtanding, and for diſintereſted virtue.

I do confeſs then I am apt to doubt the ſincerity of thoſe gentlemen, when they profeſs their ſorrow for the hardſhips they are under by the patronage act; becauſe ſome apparent tokens of their concern might have been expected, and are no where to be ſeen. But alas! why am I expreſſing my ſuſpicions what is our ſituation? things are changing ſo faſt, that it is impoſſible to write even ſuch a book as this with propriety, and ſuited to the times; for even ſince I wrote the above paragraph I have received information from Edinburgh, which if it had come before it was written, would have prevented the writing of it; and even, if not for mangling my own book, I would yet expunge it. I am aſſured, that laſt May it was openly profeſſed by ſome in the aſſembly, that preſentures were of all others, the beſt way of ſettling preachers; and that it was the *proto pseudon* of men of my principles to imagine otherwiſe. This *proto pseudon* is a phraſe which I do not underſtand, and therefore muſt let it alone. It may be a phraſe of ſome of the learned languages, and it may be of no language at all. However, I have recorded it with great fidelity, as I am informed the gentleman pronounced it. And whatever is its particular ſignification, I ſuppoſe its general meaning is, that patronages are no grievance, but a bleſſing. As therefore, it is probable that your lordſhips and honors have this many times affirmed to you, it is neceſſary that I ſhould firſt attempt to prove what I thought had been ſelf-evident, that we are in a bad ſituation, before I crave your aſſiſtance for our relief. — — — —

SPEECH

IN THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

On the Transportation of Dr. C———.

MODERATOR,

AS it is uſual for people to differ almoſt upon every ſubject, I am not ſurpriſed that there ſhould be ſome in this Aſſembly, who are for appointing, that this tranſportation ſhall take place; but I apprehend it is really ground of ſurpriſe, to ſee the way in which they urge their opinion; they do not ſpeak as if they were weighing and deliberating upon the cauſe, that they might be able to give a juſt determination; they do not ſpeak as if clearly ſatisfied themſelves; or as if they deſired to convince others, and bring them over to their own opinion; but they ſpeak in overbearing manner, and preſs the concluſion with a viſible diſpleaſure at the time ſpent upon it, and impatience that any body ſhould differ from, or contradict them. But as poſitiveneſs is ſeldom any ſtrong preſumption of a good cauſe, ſo I think it is very much miſplaced here; and as the quiet and comfort of a large pariſh immediately, and the whole country ſide more remotely, depends

upon our deciſion, I hope the aſſembly will not give it, till after mature deliberation and with real impartiality.

The firſt thing, no doubt, to be conſidered, is, whether the commiſſion have exceeded their powers, that we may ſee whether we have room at all for the other queſtion, about the expediency of this tranſportation; and after reading the words of the aſſembly's remit, I cannot help being of opinion, with the great majority of the members of Preſbytery, that the commiſſion had no power to determine this cauſe. Is it not plain that this is not the cauſe which was before the laſt aſſembly? And is it not confeſſed on all hands, that the commiſſion had no title to take in any cauſes, but ſuch as were remitted to them? Is it not plain, that the words in any after queſtion relating to this ſettlement, are not to be found in it? It is alſo proper to obſerve, from the almoſt conſtant uſe of theſe words in the remits of the aſſembly, that they do not ſuppoſe that a queſtion relating to the ſame ſettlement with another, makes it the ſame cauſe. The anſwer made to this is, that it was a miſtake or omiſſion in the clerk of the aſſembly. Admitting, Sir, that this had been the caſe, it would be extremely wrong and dangerous, to approve the commiſſion in paying no regard to that legal defect, but taking in the cauſe. For the aſſembly itſelf to make free with, and deſpiſe eſtabliſhed forms of procedure, is of the very worſt conſequence. I have heard ſome honorable members, eminently ſkilled in the law, affirm, that for a court to deſpiſe even its own forms, is to make way for the admiſſion of many inſtances of great and real injuſtice. But for the commiſſion, which is a delegated court, ſo far to come over form, as to take in a cauſe not remitted to them, is a bold tranſgreſſion with a witneſs; and if allowed, muſt be attended with conſequences, which it is impoſſible to foreſee, but can ſcarce be imagined worſe, than they really will be in effect.

But Sir, why ſhould any ſay this was either an omiſſion in the clerks, or an overſight in the laſt aſſembly. I am ſure for my part, I think they would have done wrong, had they done it in any other way. What is the reaſon of this clauſe, (or any after queſtion) when it is inſerted.

it is after the part of the cauſe is decided, to prevent contentious people to protract a ſettlement, by fooliſh and frivolous appeals upon every little interlocutor or reſolution of a preſbytery, in carrying it into execution. But in this caſe, neither all the parties, nor the principal part of the cauſe itſelf, was before the aſſembly at all; and I dare ſay, we may all remember to have heard it given as the opinion of the moſt judicious members of this church, that it is a very wrong meaſure to refer any cauſe of moment to the commiſſion that hath not been in a good meaſure heard and underſtood, by the aſſembly itſelf. Moderator, I beg leave further to ſay, that I hope this aſſembly will not authoriſe the commiſſion in making a long arm, to take in cauſes without ſufficient powers, becauſe the commiſſion is certainly the moſt unhappily conſtituted court of any in this church. I ſay this without intending, and I hope without giving offence to any body; for ſuppoſing human nature in us to be juſt what it is in other people, the members of the commiſſion being ſo numerous, and ſpread over all Scotland, few of them attend voluntarily, and it is the eaſieſt thing in the world for intereſted perſons to bring up a number of a particular way of thinking, and they may carry any cauſe whatever.

Thus, Sir, it appears that the ſentence of the commiſſion has plainly exceeded their powers in ſome meaſure, even by the confeſſion of the friends of this tranſportation. Let us conſider it a little in itſelf, and ſee if it is like to be ſo great a benefit, or ſo great an honor to this church, as that we ſhould either forgive the commiſſion the incroachment they have been guilty of, or ſhould now do ourſelves, what they have formerly done in a precipitate and irregular manner. Upon this branch of the ſubject, I am very much at a loſs, not what to ſay, if every thing were to be brought out that might be urged againſt it, but to bring the argument within ſome compaſs, and chiefly indeed to diſcover ſome hope of ſucceſs by reaſoning from ſome common principles, on which we ſhall generally agree.

Moderator, I take this opportunity of declaring before this aſſembly, that I have always had the deepeſt ſenſe of

the diſhonor and loſs of authority which this church has ſuffered, and what indeed is infinitely more, the injury which the ſouls of men have ſuffered, by many ſettlements in which we have ordained a paſtor without a people; at the ſame time, I am ſenſible that many worthy men and faithful miniſters, look upon themſelves as under a neceſſity in ſome ſuch caſes from the law of patronage; and I am afraid many from a habit of doing this where there is neceſſity, are unwilling to come out of the ſame tract, and continue to do it, when there is no neceſſity at all.

Moderator, I deſire it may be obſerved that I do not believe, and I know nobody ſo fooliſh as to believe, what is commonly imputed to us; that any Chriſtian, as ſuch, has a right to call a miniſter on an eſtabliſhment; we know that nobody has any right to call a miniſter on an eſtabliſhment, excepting thoſe to whom the law gives it; neither would I contend that every man ought to have a right, though we had it in our power, to make laws upon that ſubject ſince this ſeeming equality would be a vile inequality. But, Sir, I would chooſe to form my judgment upon a few principles, in which I would think, hardly any in this aſſembly would diſagree. Has not every man a natural right, well ſecured to him in this happy iſland, to judge for himſelf in matters of religion, and in fact to adhere to any miniſter he pleaſes? Is not the legal ſtipend intended to provide a ſufficient and uſeful paſtor to the people within the bounds of a certain pariſh? Can he be of much ſervice to them, if he be upon ill terms with them; or can he do them any at all, if they will not hear him? Does any body deſire to compel them by penal or eccleſiaſtical laws to hear him; or would ſuch forced religion be of any worth? Is not then the legal encouragement unhappily loſt and miſapplied by ſomebody's fault, when a miniſter is ſettled to whom nobody will adhere? Now, Sir, the inference that I would draw from theſe principles is no more than this, that decency and our indiſpenſible duty as a church court, requires us to make no ſuch ſettlements but with regret, and never without a real neceſſity; and the cauſe we have now before us, is one in

which no ſuch neceſſity exiſts. It is a tranſportation, Sir, the expediency of which we are to judge of, and the perſon concerned is not only bound in duty, but can be eaſily compelled by law, to ſubmit to our deciſion. The great argument that always has been uſed againſt this or the like reaſoning, has been brought out in this cauſe, that the people were unreaſonable and prejudiced, and have been ſtirred up by evil-minded perſons. This argument, Sir, is ſo old and ſtale, that I am ſurpriſed people are not aſhamed of it, and that the ingenuity of the lawyers has not been able to invent another, that ſhall have the advantage of being new. How often have we heard from this bar, this pariſh would have been agreeably and peaceably ſettled, but very early a combination was formed—This is all in all, the reſt follows of courſe. I am perſuaded, Sir, from the certain knowledge of many particular inſtances, in which this was alleged, that in nine caſes of ten the allegation is falſe. One perſon in a pariſh or country ſide may be active, and it may be ſaid with plauſibility, that he is the main ſpring of the oppoſition. Sir, it is very eaſy to lead a people according to their own inclinations; but it is not ſo eaſy as many ſeem to ſuppoſe, to change their inclinations and direct their choice. In the mean time, it is always forgotten that the argument is founded not upon the cauſe or occaſion, but upon the reality of the averſion of the people to the miniſter.

Moderator, an argument that is made uſe of to perſuade us to order this tranſportation, is, that if it ſhould be refuſed, it would encourage the people to reſiſt in other caſes. I am afraid, Sir, that the tame ſubmiſſion which indeed is faſt approaching, and which many ſeem ſo ardently to deſire, can never take place, till there is a total indifference about religion among all the members of the eſtabliſhed church; take our neighbor country of England, as an example of that deſirable peace. But if this argument be laid as it ought to be, that people ſhould not be headſtrong and unreaſonable, it operates plainly the contrary way; for there is nothing whatever that would give us ſo much weight and influence with the people, as that we ſhow a proper tenderneſs to them, as we have opportunity. If

we do not oppreſs them, when we have it in our power to relieve them, we may expect to have ſome influence over them, when we are ſtraitened and diſtreſt ourſelves.

Beſides, Sir, on this ſubject of the prejudices of the people, this pretence is carried a moſt unreaſonable and extravagant length, and nothing but the prejudice in themſelves, could make men ſpeak in ſuch a ſtile. Many will needs have it to be prejudice and groundleſs prejudice in a people, if they do not fall in with a man to be their miniſter, againſt whoſe life and doctrine they cannot bring any legal objection. Alas, Sir, all ſuch things are matters of election and choice, and not of legal proof. In illuſtration of the people's caſe, there is a very good example given, that a man would have juſt cauſe of complaint if you ſhould force a phyſician upon him of whoſe ſkill he had no opinion, though he could not prove him inſufficient before the faculty.

But, Sir, as it would be wrong to attribute oppoſition to a miniſter's ſettlement in all caſes to groundleſs prejudice, I am ſorry to ſay it, but I am obliged in juſtice to ſay it, we have very little reaſon to do ſo in the preſent caſe. Even in the caſe of a probationer, when he abſolutely adheres to a preſentation, notwithſtanding the greateſt oppoſition from the people, it is but a ſorry mark of love to ſouls, and of that ſelf-denial which every Chriſtian ſhould continually maintain. Many things however may be ſaid in favor of a probationer; yet, Sir, for a ſettled miniſter not only to act this part, but to excel all that ever were before him in a bold and inſolent contempt of the people, as plainly appears to be Dr. C———'s caſe, is ſuch a conduct, that I ſhall have a worſe opinion of this aſſembly than I have at preſent, if they do not openly expreſs their indignation at ſuch indecency of behaviour. In the hiſtory of the church we find no character more odious, or more unclerical if I may ſpeak ſo, than ambition and open ſolicitation of eccleſiaſtical preferment. Little changes in forms, Sir, do often produce at laſt great changes in manners and characters. In former times in our church, the probationer or miniſter himſelf, was never conſidered as a party, but was conſidered as the ſubject concerning which

that proceſs was carried on by the callers or referrees; but now they have been for ſome time paſt, conſidered as parties—they begin to allow the cauſe to appear at the bar—to urge their claim—to conſider the people who are to be their charge as their adverſaries, and to treat them with contempt and diſdain.

I confeſs, Sir, I am not able to imagine what are the views of a miniſter who acts in this manner. It is not I fear eaſy to anſwer, that he reſolves to change his ſituation, and take upon him that office from ſincere regard to the glory of God and love to ſouls, which he muſt profeſs at his admiſſion. But as we muſt be tender and cautious in judging of the inward motives of others, I ſhall leave that to him who judgeth the ſecrets of all hearts; but in the mean time, every one in this houſe is now called to judge whether it would be for the glory of God, and the good of mankind, to ſuffer him to execute his intention. Let it be conſidered with ſerioufneſs. Moderator, it is not only the people of the pariſh, or thoſe of lower rank, but many of all ſtations whom we ſhall offend, in the proper ſenſe of the word, if we order this ſettlement. They are led by ſuch things to treat, and they often do treat with deriſion, a miniſter's concern for his uſefulneſs, and affirm that it is no more than a deſire of a comfortable benefice and ſalary for life. I ſhall be ſorry to ſee the day, when by reſembling them in their practice, we ſhall learn from England to leave the people and the work altogether out of the act, and ſo call our charges no more *parishes*, but *livings*.

ON THE

AFFAIRS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

Tusculum, near Princeton, March 20, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received a letter from you, dated June 11, 1778, a few days after I had written to you a long letter of the date September 21, that year. The design of it was to desire me to enquire after, and endeavor to procure the enlargement of one Alexander Muirhead, supposed to be carried into Boston. I immediately wrote to Boston myself, and caused one of the delegates of that state also to write; but we could hear nothing of him, so that probably he was not carried into that place.

Your favor of March 19, 1779, acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 21st of September preceding, I received in the month of August last year. I am to blame in not answering it sooner; but I had no inclination to send an open letter through the English ports, and any proper opportunity of sending it another way seldom occurs. This goes by a gentleman who means to get to Europe upon business, and has promised to take particular

care of it; so that I mean to embrace the opportunity of writing to you and some others of my friends. I am obliged to you for your particular private home news about Glasgow, and would be glad of the continuance of such intelligence, and the more so if you would take in Paisley also.

I have been, since I wrote you last, in general in good health, and indeed am at present in better health than I have been since I had the last fit. Excepting these fits, and the weakness that followed upon them, my health has been good ever since I came to America; and that weakness has been chiefly a swimming in my head, and fear and uncertainty when I went to make a long discourse in public. It was the opinion of Dr. Rush, that these fits were something of the apoplectic kind. It is remarkable that for these twelve months past I have had almost constantly a succession of pimples or rather small biles or blotches about the temples within the hair and sometimes on the forehead; since which time I have been sensibly better, and freer from the other complaint.

I have now left congress, not being able to support the expence of attending it, with the frequent journeys to Princeton, and being determined to give particular attention to the revival of the college. Professor Houston, however, our professor of mathematics, is a delegate this year; but he tells me he will certainly leave it next November. I mention this circumstance to confirm what I believe I wrote you formerly, that the members of congress in general, not only receive no profit from that office, but I believe five out of six of them, if not more, are great losers in their private affairs. This cannot be otherwise; for as none of the delegates are allowed to have any lucrative office whatever, either in their own state or for the United States, though their expences should be fully borne, their time is taken up, and their own private estates are neglected. At the end of the year 1778, I gave notice to our legislature that they must either not chuse me at all, or leave me at full liberty to attend only when I could conveniently. They chose me however, and I made a good deal of use of that liberty in the year 1779; and this year

all the delegates were changed but one, who had only been in one year, and who has not a houſe to go home to, his eſtate, being in the neighborhood of New-York.

My family are all well ſo far as I know. The truſtees of the college have laſt September choſe my ſon-in-law, Mr. Smith, profeſſor of moral philoſophy. He came to Princeton with his family in December. To him I gave up my houſe at college, and devolved upon him the whole buſineſs of boarding young gentlemen, and retired to my houſe in the country, at the diſtance of one mile, and in full ſight of Princeton. This I have had in view for ſome years, and intend to ſpend the remainder of my life if poſſible *in otio cum dignitate.* You know I was always fond of being a ſcientific farmer. That diſpoſition has not loſt but gathered ſtrength, ſince my being in America. In this reſpect I got a dreadful ſtroke indeed from the Engliſh when they were here, they having ſeized and moſtly deſtroyed my whole ſtock, and committed ſuch ravages that we are not yet fully recovered from it. My (now) eldeſt ſon ſailed in October laſt for France, with Mr. Girard and Mr. Jay, late preſident of congreſs. He is to purchaſe a few medicines and inſtruments in Europe, and return to proſecute his buſineſs as a phyſician. My other ſon was ſtudying law; but for the mean while, is private ſecretary to the preſent preſident of Congreſs, and my youngeſt daughter is at home.

As to public affairs, it ſeems to be yet uncertain whether we ſhall have peace ſoon. Greatly do I and many others in America deſire it; and yet, were our condition ten times worſe than it is, nothing ſhort of the clear independence of this country would be accepted. I obſerve, by your letter of the 19th of March laſt year, that you had a high opinion of your ſucceſſes at St. Lucia, in Georgia, and againſt the French trade. I believe before the end of the campaign, there was little reaſon to boaſt of your ſucceſs upon the whole. I mentioned to you in my laſt how obſtinately the court of England continued in erroneous opinions reſpecting America; and now I think that obſtinacy has become incurable. It is plain that they ſtill

harp upon the ſame ſtring, that a few leading men in congreſs ſtir up the people, and perſuade them to continue the conteſt. Allow me to aſſure you that this is one of the moſt abſurd and groundleſs opinions that ever was formed. The congreſs is changing every day. There is no inſtance in the whole conteſt, in which the public opinion did not go before their reſolutions. To go back to the very beginning—the declaration of independence was forced upon the majority of the then congreſs, by the people in general; and, in conſequence of ſubſequent elections, every ſix months that I have been in congreſs has weakened the party that was ſuſpected of coldneſs upon that ſubject; and now perhaps I may ſay it is annihilated.

I have read lately your parliamentary enquiry into the cauſes of your want of ſucceſs in America. The examination of Galloway in particular is a curioſity. I know that he, and ſuch as he, are blinded and ſtupified to an almoſt incredible degree, by their prejudices; and yet it is hard to ſuppoſe that he thought as he ſaid in all points. For example, when he endeavors to make it believed that the difficulty of ſupplying general Waſhington's army aroſe from the diſſaffection of the country to his cauſe. I admit that he was in the winter 1777, in a part of the country where there are more people either cool or diſaffected to the cauſe of America, than in any other on the continent; and yet his want of ſupplies did not ariſe from that in the leaſt degree. It aroſe from the ſtate of our money. If he and his commiſſaries had had as much hard money as general Howe, he would have had all the proviſions in the country laid down at his tent door.

I am not only fully ſenſible, by a general knowledge of the country in this and other ſtates, that the public mind is entirely on the ſide of liberty, and for the independence of America—but I could mention a great many facts and circumſtances as evidences of it, ſtronger than could well be imagined, and indeed which have turned out ſtronger than even my expectations. One circumſtance is alone deciſive upon this ſubject, which is well known to yourſelves, that the moment your army leaves any part of the

country, it is not only loſt to you, but returns ſo ſtrongly to the intereſt of congreſs, that all the perſons known to have been attached to you are obliged to fly with terror and confuſion. But there is another ſtrong circumſtance, the univerſal attachment of the people to the French alliance. In vain have your partiſans endeavored to alarm the people with the fears of popery and arbitrary power. It makes not the leaſt impreſſion even upon the common people.

Pleaſe to attend to the circumſtance I am going to mention; becauſe it ſurpriſed myſelf when I obſerved it. There are always, you know, little feuds and contentions, jealouſy and emulation, in every ſociety and in every aſſociation. Both in congreſs and in the country, I have obſerved that when one ſet or faction wants to make the other odious, they charge them with being cold to the French alliance, and ungrateful to them for their ſervices. This to my knowledge has been the ſubject of mutual reproaches, when I do not believe there was any truth in it on either ſide. Would you think it—ſome have ſeriouſly attempted to perſuade me that the New-England delegates were cold to the French, and inclined to the Engliſh; to which I anſwered, that I well knew the contrary, but that they were of an independent ſpirit, and would not eaſily ſubmit to unwarrantable influence, either from the French or the Engliſh. I mention all this ſingly with this view, to ſhew you the bent and inclination of the public mind.

I have been lately reading over governor Johnſton's ſpeech after his return, in which to my amazement he poſitively and publicly denies his having ſent any meſſage by a lady to Mr. Reed. The thing is now publicly known and confeſſed. He ſays they would have named the lady if there had been any ſuch thing. Mr. Reed forbore naming the lady out of tenderneſs to her; but it has now come out. It was Mrs. F——, daughter of the late Dr. G——, married to Mr. F——, ſon of R. F——, of ————. What ſhould people think of perſons of his character ſo boldly and ſolemnly to deny a certain fact.

I will mention another circumſtance to you. The diſtreſs of this country by the depreciation of the money, has been very great. Many have ſuffered great loſſes; not a few have been utterly ruined. Yet I never could perceive that this altered the inclination of the people as to the public cauſe, in the leaſt. Nay, notwithſtanding the dreadful complaints made againſt particular claſſes of men, ſuch as foreſtallers and engroſſers, commiſſaries and quartermaſters, yet I am perſuaded that any body who ſhould but propoſe to return to ſubmiſſion to England for relief from their depredations, would be torn in pieces.

ADDRESS

TO THE

Inhabitants of Jamaica, and other West-India Islands,

in behalf of the College of New-Jersey.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is unneceſſary to begin this addreſs by a labored encomium on learning in general, or the importance of public ſeminaries for the inſtruction of youth. Their uſe in every country; their neceſſity in a new or riſing country; and, particularly the influence of Science, in giving a proper direction and full force to induſtry or enterprize, are indeed ſo manifeſt, that they are either admitted by all, or the exceptions are ſo few as to be wholly unworthy of regard.

In a more private view, the importance of education is little leſs evident. It promotes virtue and happineſs, as well as arts and induſtry. On this, as on the former, it is unneceſſary to enlarge; only ſuffer me to make a remark, not quite ſo common, that, if there is any juſt compariſon on this ſubject, the children of perſons in the higher ranks of life, and, eſpecially, of thoſe who by their own activity and diligence, riſe to opulence, have of all others the greateſt need of an early, prudent, and well-conducted education. The wealth to which they are born becomes often a dangerous temptation, and the ſtation in which they enter upon life, requires ſuch duties, as thoſe of the

fineſt talents can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed capable of, unleſs they have been improved and cultivated with the utmoſt care. Experience ſhews the uſe of a liberal education in both theſe views. It is generally a preſervative from vices of a certain claſs, by giving eaſy acceſs to more refined pleaſures, and inſpiring the mind with an abhorrence of low riot and contempt for brutal converſation. It is alſo of acknowledged neceſſity to thoſe who do not wiſh to live for themſelves alone, but would apply their talents to the ſervice of the public and the good of mankind. Education is therefore of equal importance in order either to enjoy life with dignity and elegance, or employ it to the benefit of ſociety, in offices of power or truſt.

But leaving theſe general topics, or rather, taking it for granted that every thing of this kind is by intelligent perſons, eſpecially parents, both believed and felt; I proceed to inform the public that it is intended to ſolicit benefactions from the wealthy and generous, in behalf of a College of conſiderable ſtanding, founded at NASSAU-HALL, in *Princeton*, *New-Jerſey*. In order to this it is neceſſary for me—1. To ſhew the great advantage it will be to the inhabitants of the Weſt-Indies, to have it in their power to ſend their children to approved places of education on the continent of America, inſtead of being obliged to ſend them over, for the very elements of ſcience, to South or North Britain. 2. To point out the ſituation and advantages of the College of New-Jerſey in particular. And as I was never a lover either of florid diſcourſe, or oſtentatious promiſes, I ſhall endeavor to handle theſe two points with all poſſible ſimplicity, and with that reſerve and decency which are ſo neceſſary, where compariſon in ſome reſpects cannot be avoided.

On the firſt of theſe points, let it be obſerved,

That places of education on the continent of America are much nearer to the Weſt-Indies than thoſe in Great-Britain; and yet ſufficiently diſtant to remove the temptation of running home and lurking in idleneſs. This is a circumſtance, which, other things being ſuppoſed equal, is by no means inconſiderable. Parents may hear much oftener from and of their children, and may even viſit

them, as is known to have been the caſe here, with no great loſs of time for buſineſs, and to the advantage of their own health. They may alſo much more ſpeedily and certainly be informed, whether they are profiting and have juſtice done them, or not, and remove or continue them at pleaſure. The diſtance indeed is, if I miſtake not, well proportioned in all reſpects. It is ſuch as to allow of the advantages juſt now mentioned, and yet ſo great as to favor the behavior and inſtruction of the youth. I have obſerved in the courſe of four years experience, that thoſe who came from the greateſt diſtance have, in general, behaved with moſt regularity. Being removed from their relations, it becomes neceſſary for them to ſupport a character, as they find themſelves treated by their companions, teachers, and indeed all other perſons, according to their behavior. This is ſo true, that if parents are obliged to place their children out of their own families, an hundred miles diſtance is better than twenty, and ſo of every other proportion till we come to the hurtful extreme.

Let it be further obſerved, that the climate of the continent of North-America is certainly much more healthy in itſelf, and probably alſo more ſuited to the conſtitutions of thoſe who have been born in the Weſt-Indies, than that of Great-Britain. Health is the foundation of every earthly bleſſing, and abſolutely neceſſary both to the receiving inſtruction in youth, and being able in riper years to apply it to its proper uſe. Parental tenderneſs will make every one feel the importance of this to his own children. And whether the obſervation itſelf is juſt or not, I leave to be decided by the judgment of all who have been in both countries, and the information they will readily give to thoſe who have not.

Having touched on theſe circumſtances, let us try to make the compariſon as to the ſubſtance of the education itſelf. Here, I am ſenſible, it behoves me to write with the utmoſt circumſpection to avoid giving offence, and that to ſome this will appear, at firſt ſight, altogether impoſſible. I am however not without the greateſt hopes, that I ſhall be able fully to prove the propoſition I

have laid down, without giving any juſt ground of offence to perſons of reflection and candor. No man can have a higher opinion of, and not many have a more thorough acquaintance with, the means of Education, at preſent, in Great Britain, than the author of this addreſs, who was born in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, educated in it, and ſpent the greateſt part of his after-life in conſtant intercourſe and great intimacy with the Members of the Univerſity of Glaſgow. He therefore ſays it, both with pleaſure and gratitude, that any young gentleman, who is ſtrictly ſober in his behavior, and who applies with ſteadineſs and diligence, has all poſſible advantages, particularly in North-Britain, with which he is beſt acquainted, for improving himſelf in claſſic literature, in every branch of ſcience, and eſpecially in the juſtly valued knowledge of the force and propriety of the Engliſh language, and in true taſte, including all that is uſually comprehended under the general expreſſion of the Belles Lettres. Nay, further, he admits and affirms, that any gentleman of fortune, who would give the laſt and higheſt poliſh to the education of a young man of promiſing parts, would do well to ſend him, after his principles are fixed, and his judgment a little matured, for a year or two, to ſome of the Univerſities of Great Britain. But notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions, if they may be ſo called, it is hoped it will appear, that it would be much more to the advantage of the gentlemen of the Weſt-Indies to give their children their grammar-ſchool and college education, at leaſt to their firſt degree in the arts, in an American ſeminary, if conducted by perſons of ability and integrity, than to ſend them to Great Britain; and that for two important reaſons; firſt, the better to ſecure their inſtruction, and ſecondly, for the preſervation of their morals.

1. For the greater ſecurity of their inſtruction. The colleges in Britain have by no means that forcible motive that we have, not only to teach thoſe who are willing to learn, but to ſee that every one be obliged to ſtudy, and actually learn, in proportion to his capacity. Theſe old foundations have ſtood ſo many ages, have had their character ſo long eſtabliſhed, and are indeed, ſo well known

to be filled with men of the greateſt ability, that they do not ſo much as feel any injury, in point of reputation, from one or more coming out of college almoſt as ignorant as they went in. The truth is, I do not think they ought to loſe any character by it. Every one knows, that it is owing to the idleneſs or profligacy of the boy, and not the inſufficiency of the maſter. When the numbers of one claſs are from an hundred to an hundred and thirty, or perhaps more, and when they do not live in College, how is it poſſible the maſter can keep them to their private ſtudies, or even with any certainty diſcern whether they ſtudy diligently or not. A good profeſſor is eaſily and ſpeedily diſtinguiſhed by his own performances, by the eſteem, attachment, and progreſs of the diligent, but very little, if at all, hurt by the ignorance of the negligent. I write theſe things to vaſt numbers who know them as well as I do; and I could eaſily produce gentlemen in America, who have freely and generouſly confeſſed themſelves to be unhappy proofs of their truth. Let not any body ſay I reflect upon the teachers for not uſing diſcipline to oblige them to apply. The numbers are ſo great, that to try and judge every neglect, would take more time than they have for their whole work. To this may be added, that it may very often happen that the perſons to whoſe charge boys in early life are ſent from the Weſt-Indies, either are not themſelves judges, or, from their ſituation and buſineſs, have few opportunities of knowing whether they profit or not.

On the other hand, the young ſeminaries in America have their character conſtantly at ſtake for their diligence, as one or two untaught coming out from us affects us in the moſt ſenſible manner. As to the College of New-Jerſey in particular, we have ſeen the importance of this in ſo ſtrong a light, that whereas before we had half-yearly, we now have quarterly examinations carried on with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, when all who are found deficient are degraded to the inferior claſs. So impartially have theſe trials been conducted, that nothing is more uſual than for thoſe who ſuſpect themſelves, eſpecially, if their relations are near, to pretend ſickneſs and avoid the examination,

that they may afterwards fall back without the diſhonor of a ſentence. Further, all the ſcholars with us, as ſoon as they put on the gown, are obliged to lodge in college, and muſt of neceſſity be in their chamber in ſtudy-hours: nor is it in the leaſt difficult to diſcover whether they apply carefully or not. The teachers alſo live in college, ſo that they have every poſſible advantage; not only for aſſiſting the diligent, but ſtimulating the ſlothful.

2. The ſecond reaſon for preferring an American education is, that their morals may be more effectually preſerved. This, by all virtuous and judicious parents, will be held a point of the laſt conſequence. The danger they run of contracting vicious habits by being ſent to Britain, has been often complained of, and therefore, I ſuppoſe, is matter of experience. If ſo, it will not be difficult to aſſign the cauſes of it, which may be ſafely mentioned, becauſe they carry no imputation upon the ſchools or colleges to which they are ſent. They generally are, and are always ſuppoſed to be, of great wealth. The very name of a Weſt-Indian, has come to imply in it great opulence. Now it is well known that, in all the great towns in Britain, a ſet of profligate boys, and ſometimes artful perſons farther advanced in life, attach themſelves to ſuch as are well ſupplied with money, impoſe upon their youth and ſimplicity, gratify them in every irregular deſire, and lead them both into idleneſs and vice. There are alſo in every conſiderable place in Great Britain, but eſpecially the principal cities where the colleges are fixed, a conſtant ſucceſſion and variety of intoxicating diverſions, ſuch as balls, concerts, plays, races, and others. Theſe, whatever may be pleaded for ſome of them in a certain meaſure for thoſe further advanced, every body muſt acknowledge, are highly pernicious to youth in the firſt ſtages of their education. The temptation becomes ſo much the ſtronger, and indeed almoſt irreſiſtible, when an acquaintance with theſe things is conſidered as faſhionable life, and neceſſary to the accompliſhment of a man of breeding. Is it to be ſuppoſed that young perſons of great fortune, when they can be immediate partakers, will wait with patience for the proper time when they may be permitted to view with

caution such scenes of dissipation? On the contrary it may be expected, that they will give into them with all the impetuosity and rashness of youth; and, when their parents expect them to return well stored with classic learning and philosophy, they may find them only well acquainted with the laws of the turf or gaming-table, and expert in the use of the reigning phrases of those honorable arts.

What provision is made for preserving and improving the morals of the scholars with us, I leave till I come to speak of the constitution and situation of the College of New-Jersey. But before I dismiss this part of the subject I must just repeat, that the two reasons I have given against a British education do, and were intended only to conclude against sending boys in early life. At that time they are incapable of reaping the advantages chiefly to be valued in a British education. These are not only hearing and being able to judge of the public performances of men of letters, in the pulpit, at the bar, and in parliament; but being introduced to the acquaintance and enjoying the conversation of men of eminence. This is a favor that would not be granted to boys, and if granted could be of no service, but contributes in the highest degree to the delight and instruction of those of riper years. Experience seems greatly to confirm this, for, as many boys have left some of the best schools in Britain with little classic knowledge, though supported at great expence, so those who received their first education in this country, and went home to finish it, have seldom returned without great and real improvement.

In addition to these arguments in behalf of American colleges, drawn from the instruction and morals of the youth who are sent to them, I cannot help mentioning one other which must have great weight in a view somewhat different. These colleges must necessarily, in time, produce a number of young men proper to undertake the office of private tutors in gentlemen's families. There are some who prefer a private to a public education at any rate, especially in the very first stages, and some find it necessary, as not being able to support the expence of

ſending their children ſo early, and keeping them ſo long from home. Now all who know the ſituation of things in Britain, muſt be ſenſible how difficult it is to get young men of capacity or expectation, to leave their native country in order to undertake the inſtruction of gentlemen's children. In this office there is little proſpect of increaſe of fortune, to balance the riſk of going to a new and dangerous, or ſuppoſed dangerous, climate. But thoſe who are born and educated in America will not only increaſe the number of ſuch teachers, but they will have no ſuch hideous apprehenſions of going to any part of the continent or iſlands. Whatever is done, therefore, to raiſe and ſupport proper ſeminaries in America, will, in time, be followed by this great and general benefit, which I have been aſſured is very much needed in many or moſt of the Weſt-India iſlands.

I will now proceed to ſpeak a little of the Conſtitution and Advantages of the College of New-Jerſey in particular.

About twenty-four years ago, ſeveral gentlemen and miniſters in this province, by the friendſhip and patronage of Jonathan Belcher, Eſq. then Governor, obtained a very ample royal charter, incorporating them under the title of Truſtees of the College of New-Jerſey; and giving them the ſame privileges and powers that are given to the 'two Engliſh Univerſities, or any other Univerſity or 'College in Great-Britain.' They, although only poſſeſſed of a naked charter, without any public encouragement, immediately began the inſtruction; and very ſoon after, by their own activity and zeal, and the benevolence of others who had the higheſt opinion of their integrity, raiſed a noble building, called Naſſau-Hall, at Princeton, New-Jerſey. This they choſe to do, though it waſted their capital, as their great intention was to make effectual proviſion, not only for the careful inſtruction, but for the regular government of the youth. There all the ſcholars are lodged, and alſo boarded, except when they have expreſs licenſe to board out, in the preſident's houſe or elſewhere.

The regular courſe of inſtruction is in four claſſes, exactly after the manner and bearing the names of the claſſes in the Engliſh univerſities; Freſhman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior. In the firſt year, they read Latin and Greek, with the Roman and Grecian antiquities, and rhetoric. In the ſecond, continuing the ſtudy of the languages, they learn a complete ſyſtem of geography, with the uſe of the globes, the firſt principles of philoſophy, and the elements of mathematical knowledge. The third, though the languages are not wholly omitted, is chiefly employed in mathematics and natural Philoſophy. And the ſenior year is employed in reading the higher claſſics, proceeding in the mathematics and natural philoſophy, and going through a courſe of moral philoſophy. In addition to theſe, the Preſident gives lectures to the juniors and ſeniors, which conſequently every ſtudent hears twice over in his courſe, firſt upon chronology and hiſtory, and afterwards upon compoſition and criticiſm. He has alſo taught the French language laſt winter, and it will continue to be taught to thoſe who deſire to learn it.

During the whole courſe of their ſtudies, the three younger claſſes, two every evening formerly, and now three, becauſe of their increaſed number, pronounce an oration on a ſtage erected for that purpoſe in the hall, immediately after prayers; that they may learn, by early habit preſence of mind and proper pronunciation and geſture in public ſpeaking. This excellent practice, which has been kept up almoſt from the firſt foundation of the College, has had the moſt admirable effects. The ſenior ſcholars, every five or ſix weeks, pronounce orations of their own compoſition, to which all perſons of any note in the neighborhood are invited or admitted.

The College is now furniſhed with all the moſt important helps to inſtruction. The library contains a very large collection of valuable books. The leſſons of aſtronomy are given upon the orrery, lately invented and conſtructed by David Rittenhouſe, Eſq. which is reckoned by the beſt judges the moſt excellent in its kind of any ever yet produced; and when what is commiſſioned and now upon its way is added to what the College already

poſſeſſes, the apparatus for mathematics and natural philoſophy will be equal if not ſuperior to any on the continent.

As we have never yet been obliged to omit or alter it for want of ſcholars, there is a fixed annual Commencement on the laſt Wedneſday of September, when, after a variety of public exerciſes, always attended by a vaſt concourſe of the politeſt company, from the different parts of this province and the cities of New-York and Philadelphia, the ſtudents whoſe ſenior year is expiring, are admitted to the degree of Bachelors of Arts; the Bachelors of three years ſtanding, to the degrees of Maſters; and ſuch other higher degrees granted as are either regularly claimed, or the Truſtees think fit to beſtow upon thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their literary productions, or their appearances in public life.

On the day preceding the Commencement laſt year, there was (and it will be continued every year hereafter) a public exhibition, and voluntary contention for prizes, open for every member of College. Theſe were firſt, ſecond, and third prizes, on each of the following ſubjects. 1. Reading the Engliſh language with propriety and grace, and being able to anſwer all queſtions on its orthography and grammar. 2. Reading the Latin and Greek languages in the ſame manner, with particular attention to true quantity. 3. Speaking Latin. 4. Latin verſions. 5. Pronouncing Engliſh orations. The preference was determined by ballot, and all preſent permitted to vote, who were graduates of this or any other College.

As to the government of the college, no correction by ſtripes is permitted. Such as cannot be governed by reaſon and the principles of honor and ſhame, are reckoned unfit for reſidence in a college. The collegiate cenſures are, 1. Private admonition by the preſident, profeſſor, or tutor. 2. Before the faculty. 3. Before the whole claſs to which the offender belongs. 4. And the laſt and higheſt, before all the members of college aſſembled in the hall. And, to preſerve the weight and dignity of theſe cenſures, it has been an eſtabliſhed practice that the laſt or higheſt cenſure, viz. public admonition, ſhall never be

repeated upon the ſame perſon. If it has been thought neceſſary to inflict it upon any one, and if this does not preſerve him from falling into ſuch groſs irregularities a ſecond time, it is underſtood that expulſion is immediately to follow.

Through the narrowneſs of the funds, the government and inſtruction has hitherto been carried on by a preſident and three tutors. At laſt commencement, the truſtees choſe a profeſſor of mathematics; and intend, as their funds are raiſed, to have a greater number of profeſſorſhips, and carry their plan to as great perfection as poſſible.

The above relates wholly to what is properly the college; but there is alſo at the ſame place, eſtabliſhed under the particular direction and patronage of the preſident, a grammar ſchool, where boys are inſtructed in the Latin and Greek languages with the utmoſt care, and on the plan of the moſt approved teachers in Great-Britain. It is now ſo large as to have two maſters for the languages, and one for writing and arithmetic; and as ſome are ſent with a deſign only to learn the Latin, Greek, and French languages, arithmetic, geography, and the practical branches of the mathematics, without going through a full college courſe, ſuch ſcholars are permitted to attend the inſtruction of the claſſes in whatever coincides with their plan. It is alſo now reſolved, at the requeſt of ſeveral gentlemen, to have an Engliſh maſter after next vacation, for teaching the Engliſh language regularly and grammatically, and for perfecting by Engliſh exerciſes thoſe whoſe previous inſtruction may have been defective or erroneous.

I have thus laid before the public a conciſe account of the conſtitution of the college of New-Jerſey, and muſt now earneſtly recommend it to the aſſiſtance and patronage of men of liberal and ingenuous minds. I am ſenſible that nothing is more difficult, than to write in behalf of what the writer himſelf has ſo great a part in conducting, ſo as neither to fail in doing juſtice to the ſubject, nor exceed in impreper or arrogant profeſſions. And yet to employ others to write for us, who may have

ſome pretence as indifferent perſons, to embelliſh our characters, is liable to ſtill greater ſuſpicion. The very beſt ſecurity one can give to the public for decency and truth, is to write openly in his own perſon, that he may be under a neceſſity to anſwer for it, if it is liable to challenge.

This is the method I have determined to follow; and that I may neither offend the delicacy of my friends, nor provoke the reſentment of my enemies, I will endeavor humbly to recommend this college to the attention and eſteem of men of penetration and candor, chiefly from ſuch circumſtances as have little or no relation to the perſonal characters of thoſe now employed, but are eſſential to its ſituation and conſtitution, and therefore muſt be ſuppoſed to have not only the moſt powerful, but the moſt laſting effect. The circumſtances to which I would intreat the attention of impartial perſons, are the following.

I. The college of New-Jerſey is altogether independent. It hath received no favor from government but the charter, by the particular friendſhip of a perſon now deceaſed. It owes nothing but to the benefactions of a public ſo diffuſive that it cannot produce particular dependance, or operate by partial influence. From this circumſtance it muſt be free from *two* great evils, and derive the like number of ſolid advantages. There is no fear of being obliged to chuſe teachers upon miniſterial recommendation, or in compliance with the over-bearing weight of family intereſt. On the contrary, the truſtees are naturally led, and in a manner forced to found their choice upon the characters of the perſons, and the hope of public approbation. At the ſame time thoſe concerned in the inſtruction and government of the college, are as far removed, as the ſtate of human nature will admit, from any temptation to a fawning, cringing ſpirit, and mean ſervility in the hope of court favor or promotion.

In conſequence of this, it may naturally be expected, and we find by experience that hitherto in fact the ſpirit of liberty has breathed high and ſtrong in all the members. I would not be underſtood to ſay that a ſeminary of learn-

ing ought to enter deeply into political contention; far leſs would I meanly court favor by profeſſing myſelf a violent partiſan in any preſent diſputes. But ſurely a conſtitution which naturally tends to produce a ſpirit of liberty and independence, even though this ſhould ſometimes need to be reined in by prudence and moderation, is infinitely preferable to the dead and vapid ſtate of one whoſe very exiſtence depends upon the nod of thoſe in power. Another great advantage ariſing from this is the obligation we are under to recommend ourſelves, by diligence and fidelity, to the public. Having no particular prop to lean to on one ſide, we are obliged to ſtand upright and firm by leaning equally on all. We are ſo far from having our fund ſo complete, as of itſelf to ſupport the neceſſary expence, that the greater part of our annual income ariſes from the payments of the ſcholars, which we acknowledge with gratitude have been for theſe ſeveral years continually increaſing.

II. This leads me to obſerve, that it ought to be no inconſiderable recommendation of this college to thoſe at a diſtance, that it has the eſteem and approbation of thoſe who are neareſt it and know it beſt. The number of under graduates, or proper members of college, is near four times that of any college on the continent to the ſouthward of New-England, and probably greater than that of all the reſt put together. This we are at liberty to affirm has in no degree ariſen from pompous deſcriptions, or repeated recommendations in the public papers. We do not mean to blame the laudable attempts of others to do themſelves juſtice. We have been often found fault with, and perhaps are to blame for neglect in this particular. It is only mentioned to give full force to the argument juſt now uſed, and the fact is certainly true.
do not remember that the name of the college of New-Jerſey has been above once or twice mentioned in the newſpapers for three years, except in a bare recital of the acts of the annual commencements. The preſent addreſs ariſes from neceſſity, not choice; for had not a more private application been found impracticable, the preſs had probably never been employed.

III. It may not be amiſs to obſerve on this ſubject, that the great utility of this ſeminary has been felt over an extenſive country. Many of the clergy, epiſcopal and preſbyterian, in the different colonies, received their education here, whoſe exemplary behavior and other merit we ſuffer to ſpeak for themſelves. We are alſo willing that the public ſhould attend to the characters and appearance of thoſe gentlemen in the law and medical departments, who were brought up at Naſſau-Hall, and are now in the cities of New-York and Philadelphia, and in different parts of the continent or iſlands. Two at leaſt of the profeſſors of the juſtly celebrated Medical School lately founded in Philadelphia, and perhaps the greateſt number of their pupils, received their inſtruction here. We are not afraid, but even wiſh that our claim ſhould be decided by the conduct of thoſe in general who have come out from us, which is one of the moſt concluſive arguments; for *a tree is known by its fruits.* It is at the ſame time an argument of the moſt fair and generous kind; for it is left to be determined by mankind at their leiſure; and if the appeal be not in our favor, it muſt be unſpeakably injurious.

IV. The place where the college is built, is moſt happily choſen for the health, the ſtudies and the morals of the ſcholars. All theſe were particularly attended to when the ſpot was pitched upon. Princeton is on a riſing ground, from whence there is an eaſy gradual deſcent for many miles on all quarters, except the north and north-weſt, from whence at the diſtance of one mile it is ſheltered by a range of hills covered with woods. It has a moſt beautiful appearance, and in fact has been found one of the healthieſt places, as it is ſituated in the middle of one of the moſt healthful countries, on the whole continent. It is upon the great poſt road, almoſt equally diſtant from New-York and Philadelphia, ſo as to be a centre of intelligence, and have an eaſy conveyance of every thing neceſſary, and yet to be wholly free from the many temptations in every great city, both to the neglect of ſtudy, and the practice of vice. The truth is, it is to this happy circumſtance, ſo wiſely attended to by the firſt truſtees, that

we owe our being enabled to keep up the diſcipline of the college with ſo great regularity and ſo little difficulty. We do not wiſh to take any honor in this reſpect to ourſelves. Doubtleſs the maſters of every college will do their beſt in this reſpect. But it is not in the power of thoſe who are in great cities to keep the diſcipline with equal ſtrictneſs, where boys have ſo many temptations to do evil, and can ſo eaſily and effectually conceal it after it is done. With us, they live all in college, under the inſpection of their maſters; and the village is ſo ſmall that any irregularity is immediately and certainly diſcovered, and therefore eaſily corrected.

It has ſometimes happened, through rivalſhip or malice, that our diſcipline has been cenſured as too ſevere and rigorous. This reproach I always hear, not with patience only, but with pleaſure. In the mouth of an adverſary, it is a clear confeſſion that the government is ſtrict and regular. While we avail ourſelves of this, we prove that the accuſation of oppreſſive rigor is wholly without foundation, from the number of ſcholars, and the unfrequency of public cenſures, but above all from the warm and almoſt enthuſiaſtic attachment of thoſe who have finiſhed their courſe. Could their eſteem and friendſhip be expected in return for an auſtere and rigorous confinement, out of which they had eſcaped as birds out of the ſnare of the fowler? We admit that it is inſupportable to the idle and profligate; for either they will not bear with us, or we will not bear with them: but from thoſe who have applied to their ſtudies, and reached the honors of college, we have, almoſt without exception, found the moſt ſincere, active and zealous friendſhip.

V. This college was founded, and hath been conducted upon the moſt catholic principles. The charter recites as one of its grounds, "That every religious de-"nomination may have free and equal liberty and advan-"tage of education in the ſaid college, any different ſen-"timents in religion notwithſtanding." Accordingly there are now, and have been from the beginning, ſcholars of various denominations from the moſt diſtant colonies, as well as Weſt-India iſlands; and they muſt ne-

ceſſarily confeſs, that they never met with the leaſt uneaſineſs or diſreſpect on this account. Our great advantage on this ſubject is the harmony of the board of truſtees, and the perfect union in ſentiment among all the teachers, both with the truſtees and with one another. On this account, there is neither inclination nor occaſion to meddle with any controverſy whatever. The author of this addreſs confeſſes that he was long accuſtomed to the order and dignity of an eſtabliſhed church, but a church which hath no contempt or deteſtation of thoſe who are differently organized. And, as he hath ever been in that church an oppoſer of lordly domination and ſacerdotal tyranny, ſo he is a paſſionate admirer of the equal and impartial ſupport of every religious denomination which prevails in the northern colonies, and is perfect in Pennſylvania and the Jerſeys, to the unſpeakable advantage of thoſe happy and well conſtituted governments.

With reſpect to the college of New-Jerſey, every queſtion about forms of church government is ſo entirely excluded, that though I have ſeen one ſet of ſcholars begin and finiſh their courſe, if they know nothing more of religious controverſy than what they learned here, they have that ſcience wholly to begin. This is altogether owing to the union of ſentiment mentioned above: for, if you place as teachers in a college, perſons of repugnant religious principles, they muſt have more wiſdom and ſelf-denial than uſually fall to the lot of humanity, if the whole ſociety is not divided into parties, and marſhalled under names, if the changes are not frequent, and, when they take place, as well known as any event that can happen in ſuch a ſociety. On the contrary, there is ſo little occaſion with us to canvaſs this matter at all, that, though no doubt accident muſt diſcover it as to the greateſt number, yet ſome have left the college, as to whom I am wholly uncertain at this hour to what denomination they belong. It has been and ſhall be our care to uſe every mean in our power to make them good men and good ſcholars; and, if this is the caſe, I ſhall hear of their future character and uſefulneſs with unfeigned ſatisfaction, under every name by which a real proteſtant can be diſtinguiſhed.

Having already experienced the generosity of the public in many parts of the continent of America, I cannot but hope that the gentlemen of the islands will not refuse their assistance, according to their abilities, in order to carry this seminary to a far greater degree of perfection than any to which it has yet arrived. The express purpose to which the benefactions now requested will be applied, is the establishment of new professorships, which will render the institution not only more complete in itself, but less burthensome to those who have undertaken the important trust. The whole branches of mathematics and natural philosophy are now taught by one professor; and the president is obliged to teach divinity and moral philosophy, as well as chronology, history, and rhetoric, besides the superintendance and government of the whole. The short lives of the former presidents have been by many attributed to their excessive labors, which, it is hoped, will be an argument with the humane and generous to lend their help in promoting so noble a design.

I am, gentlemen,
Your most obedient,
Humble servant,
JOHN WITHERSPOON.

Nassau-Hall, at Princeton,
New-Jersey, March 21, 1772.

Proper Forms of DONATIONS to the COLLEGE by WILL.

OF CHATTELS PERSONAL.

Item, I A. B. do hereby give and bequeath the sum of unto the *Trustees of the College of New Jersey*, commonly called *Nassau-Hall*, the same to be paid within months next after my decease; and to be applied to the uses and purposes of the *said College.*

OF REAL ESTATES.

I A. B. do give and devise unto the *Trustees of the College of New Jersey*, commonly called *Nassau-Hall, and to their successors forever*, all that certain messuage and tract of land, &c.

SUPPLICATION

OF

J. R********.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens, Esquire, President, and other, the Members of the Honorable, the American Congress, &c. &c. &c.

The humble representation and earnest supplication of J. R———. printer and bookseller in New-York,

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

THAT a great part of the Britiſh forces has already left this city, and from many ſymptoms there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the remainder will ſpeedily follow them. Where they are gone or going, is perhaps known to themſelves, perhaps not; certainly however, it is unknown to us, the loyal inhabitants of the place, and other friends of government who have taken refuge in it, and who are therefore filled with diſtreſs and terror on the unhappy occaſion.

That as ſoon as the evacuation is completed, it is more than probable, the city will be taken poſſeſſion of by the forces of your high mightineſſes, followed by vaſt crouds of other perſons—whigs by nature and profeſſion—friends to the liberties, and foes to the enemies of America. Above all, it will undoubtedly be filled with ſhoals of

Yankies, that is to ſay, the natives and inhabitants (or as a great lady in this metropolis generally expreſſes it, the *wretches*) of New-England.

That from ſeveral circumſtances, there is reaſon to fear that the behavior of the wretches aforeſaid, may not be altogether gentle to ſuch of the friends of government as ſhall ſtay behind. What the governing powers of the ſtate of New-York may do alſo, it is impoſſible to foretell. Nay, who knows but we may ſoon ſee *in propria persona*, as we have often heard of *Hortentius*, the governor of New-Jerſey, a gentleman remarkable for ſeverely handling thoſe whom he calls traitors, and indeed who has exalted ſome of them (quanquam animus meminiſſe horret luctuque refugit) to a high, though dependant ſtation, and brought *America under their feet*, in a ſenſe very different from what Lord North meant when he firſt uſed that celebrated expreſſion.

That your petitioner in particular, is at the greateſt loſs what to reſolve upon, or how to ſhape his courſe. He has no deſire at all, either to be roaſted in Florida, or frozen to death in Canada or Nova Scotia. Being a great lover of freſh cod, he has had thoughts of trying a ſettlement in Newfoundland, but recollecting that the New-England men have almoſt all the ſame appetite, he was obliged to relinquiſh that project entirely. If he ſhould go to Great-Britain, dangers no leſs formidable preſent themſelves. Having been a bankrupt in London, it is not impoſſible that he might be accommodated with a lodging in Newgate, and that the ordinary there, might oblige him to ſay his prayers, a practice from which he hath had an inſuperable averſion all his life long.

In this dreadful dilemma, he hath at laſt determined to apply to your high mightineſſes, and by this memorial to *lay himself at your feet*, which he aſſures you, is the true modiſh phraſe for reſpectful ſubmiſſion, according to the preſent etiquette of the court. Being informed however, that ſome of you are Preſbyterians and Religioniſts, he has been alſo at ſome pains to find out a ſcripture warrant or example for his preſent conduct, and has happily found it in the advice given by the ſervants of Benhadad,

king of Syria, to their maſter, 1 Kings xx. 31. *And his ſervants ſaid unto him, behold now we have heard that the kings of Iſrael are merciful kings: Let us we pray thee, put ſackcloth upon our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Iſrael, peradventure he may ſave thy life. So they girded ſackcloth upon their loins, and put ropes upon their heads, and came to the king of Iſrael, and ſaid, Thy ſervant Benhadad ſaith, I pray thee let me live.* In like manner, O moſt mighty and venerable Congreſs-men, your ſervant J. R——— ſaith, I pray you let me live.

Having thus preferred my petition, I muſt now intreat leave to lay before your high mightineſſes, ſundry reaſons, which I hope will incline you to lend a favorable ear to it, in doing which, I ſhall uſe all poſſible plainneſs and candor.

I. In the firſt place, there cannot poſſibly be any danger to the United States, in ſuffering me to live. I know many of you think and ſay, that a tory heart acquires ſuch a degree of fourneſs and malevolence, in addition to its native ſtock, and ſuch a habit of treachery by breaking through the moſt endearing ties of nature, that no good can be expected from it, nor any dependance placed upon it, let pretences or appearances be what they will. I remember alſo, about ſeven years ago, a certain perſon hearing accidentally, one or two paragraphs read from the writings of an eminent controverſial divine in this country, ſaid, That fellow muſt be a turn-coat; it is impoſſible that he could have been educated in the profeſſion which he now defends. What is your reaſon for that opinion, ſaid another gentleman who was preſent? Becauſe, ſays he, he diſcovers a rancor of ſpirit and rottenneſs of heart, unattainable by any other claſs of men. But I contend that theſe remarks relate only to the natives of this country, who like parricides took up arms for her deſtruction; and to apoſtates in religion, neither of which, I am certain, can be applied to me. I was born, as is well known, in old England; and as for the accuſation of apoſtacy, I ſet it at defiance, unleſs a man can be ſaid to fall off from what he was never on, or to depart from a place which he never ſaw.

But what I beg of you particularly to obſerve is, that let the diſpoſition to miſchief be as great as you pleaſe, where the ability is wanting, there can be no danger. I have often ſeen the lions in the tower of London without fear, becauſe there was an iron grate between me and them. Now it is certain that the tories in general, would do any thing ſooner than fight. Many of them became tories for no other reaſon, than that they might avoid fighting. The poor chicken-hearted creatures cried out to the potent King of England, to take them under his wings for protection, which he endeavored to do, but they were too ſhort to cover them. Even the late petition for arms, in which they promiſed to go without the lines, and ſweep you all away with the beſom of deſtruction, was but an idle rhodomantade—It was ſomething like a poor boy ſhouting and ſinging in the dark, to keep himſelf from being afraid. At that very time, to my certain knowledge, they would have given the world for a place to fly to out of the reach of Waſhington and Gates. But I return to myſelf, *egomet sum proximus mihi.* I can aſſure your high mightineſſes, that no danger can ariſe from me, for I am as great a coward as King James the VIth of Scotland, who could never ſee a naked ſword without trembling; having been, as it is ſaid, frightened in his mother's belly, when the fierce barons of that country came in, and killed David Rizzeo in his preſence. I was once ſeverely caned by a Scots officer now (if employed) in your ſervice. Though the gentlemen of that choleric nation have been very much our friends in the preſent controverſy, I find it is dangerous to offend them. Buchanan their own hiſtorian ſays, *perfervidum est Scotorum ingenium.* Therefore by the by, or *en passant*, for I ſuppoſe you are at preſent beſt pleaſed with French phraſes, I would adviſe every man who regards his own peace, however ſmooth and gentle a Scotchman may appear, not to take him *against the hair*, as the ſaying is in their own country, but to remember the motto that ſurrounds the thiſtle, *Nemo me impune lacessit.* I alſo very narrowly eſcaped a ſound beating from a New-England parſon, who was ſtrong enough, without either cane or cudgel, to have

pounded me to a mummy. All this and much more of the ſame kind I bore with the moſt exemplary patience and ſubmiſſion. Perhaps it will be ſaid that though no danger is to be apprehended from any deeds, yet I may do harm enough by words and writing. To this I anſwer that I have expended and exhauſted my whole faculty of that kind in the ſervice of the Engliſh. I have tried falſehood and miſrepreſentation in every ſhape that could be thought of, ſo that it is like a coat thrice turned that will not hold a ſingle ſtitch. My friend Gen. Ro————n told me ſome time ago in my own ſhop that I had carried things ſo far that people could not believe one word I ſaid, even though it were as true as the goſpel. From all this I hope it plainly appears that there could be no danger from me; and therefore as you cannot ſurely think of being cruel for cruelty's ſake, that you will ſuffer me to live.

II. Any further puniſhment upon me or any other of the unhappy refugees, who ſhall remain in N. York, will be altogether unneceſſary, for they do ſuffer and will ſuffer from the nature of the thing as much as a merciful man could wiſh to impoſe upon his greateſt enemy. By this I mean the dreadful mortification (after our paſt puffing and vaunting) of being under the dominion of the Congreſs, ſeeing and hearing the conduct and diſcourſe of the friends of America, and perhaps being put in mind of our own in former times. You have probably ſeen many of the Engliſh news-papers, and alſo ſome of mine, and you have among you the *few* priſoners who by a miracle eſcaped death in our hands. By all theſe means you may learn with what infinite contempt, with what provoking inſult, and with what unexampled barbarity your people have from the beginning to the end been treated by the Britiſh officers, excepting a very ſmall number, but above all by the tories and refugees who not having the faculty of fighting, were obliged to lay out their whole wrath and malice in the article of ſpeaking. I remember when one of the priſoners taken after the *gallant* defence of Fort Waſhington had received ſeveral kicks for not being in his rank, he ſaid, is this a way of treating gentleman? The anſwer was, gentlemen? G— d———n your blood

who made you a gentleman, which was heard by us all preſent with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, and ratified by general applauſe. I have alſo ſeen one of your officers after long impriſonment, for want of clothes, food and lodging, as meagre as a ſkeleton and as dirty and ſhabby as a London beggar, when one of our friends would ſay with infinite humour, look you there is one of King Cong's ragged raſcals. You muſt remember the many ſweet names given you in print in England and America, Rebels, Raſcals, Raggamuffins, Tatterdemallions, Scoundrels, Blackguards, Cowards, and Poltroons. You cannot be ignorant how many and how complete victories we gained over you, and what a fine figure you made in our narratives. We never once made you to *retreat* ſeldom even to *fly* as a routed army but to *run off into the woods* to *ſcamper away through the fields* and to *take to your heels as usual.* You will probably ſoon ſee the gazette account of the *defeat* of Mr. Waſhington at Monmouth. There it will appear how you ſcampered off, and how the Engliſh followed you and mowed you down till their officers with that humanity which is the *characteriſtic of the nation*, put a ſtop to this carnage, and then by a maſterly ſtroke of generalſhip, ſtole a march in the night, leſt you ſhould have ſcampered back again and obliged them to make a new ſlaughter in the morning.

Now dear gentlemen conſider what a miſerable affair it muſt be for a man to be obliged to apply with humility and ſelf-abaſement to thoſe whom he hath ſo treated, nay, even to beg life of them while his own heart upbraids him with his paſt conduct, and perhaps his memory is refreſhed with the repetition of ſome of his rhetorical flowers. It is generally ſaid that our friend Burgoyne was treated with abundance of civility by general Gates, and yet I think it could not be very pleaſing to him to ſee and hear the boys when he entered Albany, going before and crying *Elbow Room* for General Burgoyne there. Fear and trembling have already taken hold of many of the Refugees and Friends of government in this place. It would break your hearts to hear poor Sam. S———, of Philadelphia, weeping and wailing, and yet he was a peaceable Quaker who did nothing in the world but hire guides

to the Engliſh parties who were going out to ſurprize and butcher you. My brother of trade, G— is ſo much affected that ſome ſay he has loſt or will ſoon loſe his reaſon. For my own part I do not think I run any riſk in that reſpect. All the wiſdom that I was ever poſſeſſed of is in me ſtill, praiſed be God, and likely to be ſo. A man that has run the gauntlet of creditors, duns, and bailiffs, for years in England, and has been cudgelled, kicked, and p—d upon in America, is in no danger of loſing his reaſon by any circumſtance whatever ſo long as there is the leaſt proſpect of ſaving his life. I have heard ſome people ſay that diſhonour was worſe than death, but with the great Sancho Pancha, I was always of a different opinion. I hope, therefore, your honors will conſider my ſufferings as ſufficient to atone for my offences, and allow me to continue in peace and quiet, and according to the North-Britiſh proverb, *sleep in a whole skin.*

III. I beg leave to ſuggeſt, that upon being received into favor, I think it would be in my power to ſerve the United States in ſeveral important reſpects. I believe many of your officers want politeneſs. They are like old Cincinnatus, taken from the plow; and therefore muſt ſtill have a little roughneſs in their manners and deportment. Now, I myſelf am the pink of courteſy, a genteel, portly, well-looking fellow as you will ſee in a ſummer's day. I underſtand and poſſeſs the *bienseance*, the *manner*, the *grace*, ſo largely inſiſted on by lord Cheſterfield; and may without vanity ſay, I could teach it better than his lordſhip, who in that article has remarkably failed. I hear with pleaſure, that your people are pretty good ſcholars, and have made particularly very happy advances in the art of ſwearing, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to a gentleman. Yet I dare ſay they will themſelves confeſs, that they are ſtill in this reſpect far inferior to the Engliſh army. There is, by all account, a coarſeneſs and fameneſs in their expreſſion; whereas there is variety, ſprightlineſs and figure in the oaths of gentlemen well educated. Dean Swift ſays very juſtly, 'a footman may ſwear, but he cannot ſwear like a lord.' Now we have many lords in the Engliſh army, all of whom, when here, were pleaſed to honor

me with their friendſhip and intimacy; ſo that I hope my qualifications can hardly be diſputed. I have imported many of the moſt neceſſary articles for appearance in genteel life. I can give them Lavornitti's ſoap-balls to waſh their brown hands clean, perfumed gloves, paint, powder, and pomatum. I can alſo furniſh the New-England men with rings, ſeals, ſwords, canes, ſnuff-boxes, tweezer-caſes, and many other ſuch *notions*, to carry home to their wives and miſtreſſes, who will be *nation*-glad to ſee them. You are alſo to know that I import a great many patent medicines, which may be of uſe to your army. It is ſaid that ſome of them are exceedingly liable to a diſorder called by phyſicians the *rancomania*, which is frequently followed by the two twin diſeaſes of plumbophobia and ſiderophobia. If they will but ſubmit to a ſtrict regimen, and take the tincture drops and pills which I prepare, I am confident the cure in moſt caſes would be infallible.

I have been informed, that a certain perſon, well known to your auguſt body, has clearly demonſtrated that virtue and ſeverity of manners are neceſſary to thoſe who would pull an old government down, which feat is now happily accompliſhed; but that luxury, diſſipation, and a taſte for pleaſures, are equally neceſſary to keep up a government already ſettled. As I ſuppoſe you are fully convinced of this moſt ſalutary truth, I take it for granted, now that you have ſettled governments in all the ſtates, you are looking out for proper perſons to ſoften the rigid virtue of the Americans, and lay them aſleep in the lap of ſelf-indulgence. Now, I am proud to ſay, that there is not a man on this continent more able to ſerve you in this reſpect, than myſelf. I have ſerved many of the Britiſh officers in a moſt honorable ſtation and character, of which the great Pandarus of Troy was the moſt ancient example. If I am happy enough to make my own converſation and manners the ſtandard of the mode, I believe you will ſee very powerful effects of it in a ſhort time. But if, after recovering your friendſhip myſelf, I am able alſo to bring back and reconcile to his country the Rev. Dr. A——, I believe the ſyſtem will be perfect. That gentleman, by

his robuſt form, is well fitted to be an eccleſiaſtical bruiſer, if ſuch an officer ſhould be needed; and, with all due deference to the officers of the American army, I ſhould think that a better way of terminating differences among them in the laſt reſort, than ſword or piſtol, for many obvious reaſons. He has alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the publication of ſome poems on ſubjects extremely well ſuited to the character of a Chriſtian clergyman, and very proper for initiating the tender mind in the ſofteſt and moſt delicious of all arts, viz. the art of love.

Finally, I hope I may be of ſervice to the United States, as a writer, publiſher, collector, and maker of news. I mention this with ſome diffidence; becauſe perhaps you will think I have foreclоſed myſelf from ſuch a claim, by confeſſing (as above) that my credit as a newſ-writer is broken by over-ſtretching. But it is common enough for a man in buſineſs, when his credit is wholly gone in one place, by ſhifting his ground, and taking a new departure, to flouriſh away, and make as great or greater figure than before. How long that ſplendor will laſt is another matter, and belongs to an after conſideration. I might therefore, though my credit is gone in New-York, ſet up again in the place which is honored with your reſidence. Beſides, I might write thoſe things only or chiefly, which you wiſh to be diſbelieved, and thus render you the moſt eſſential ſervice. This would be aiming and arriving at the ſame point by *manœuvring retrògade.* Once more, as I have been the oſtenſible printer of other people's lies in New-York, what is to hinder me from keeping incog. and inventing or poliſhing lies to be iſſued from the preſs of another printer in Philadelphia? In one or more or all of theſe ways, I hope to merit your approbation. It would be endleſs to mention all my devices; and therefore I will only ſay further, that I can take a truth, and ſo puff and ſwell and adorn it, ſtill keeping the proportion of its parts, but enlarging their dimenſions, that you could hardly diſcover where the falſehood lay, in caſe of a ſtrict inveſtigation.

That I may not weary you, I conclude with recommending myſelf to your kind countenance and protection; and in the mean time, waiting for a favorable anſwer, your petitioner, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray, &c.

END OF FOURTH VOLUME.

Date Due			
Amended 8/7/52			